2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been 127
translated into English, the writer being respon- 128
sible for the translations. Admittedly, the early
phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries,
are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach
back with certainty for only the life span of a
mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, 101
the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking 175
Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco 648
from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest writ-
ten records and from what we know of the Ara- [181]
wak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the
Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predomi-
nantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the
Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speak-
ing Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part.
The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and ex-
tremely warlike. In time, the interaction between
the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relation-
ship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs
and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of
goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná
for military protection provided by the Mbayá.
In this system of accommodation the Mbayá main-
tained a position of ascendancy owing to their
military superiority. This seems to have been the
existing situation when the Spaniards made con-
tact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle
of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of 101
the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the 175
account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they [131]
were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

[P. I-B]

tude 22° to latitude 19° S. Presumably, they were G 175
in this general area when first discovered by the 101
Spaniards. The Guaná at that time consisted of [131]
the following subdivisions: Layaná, Niguecac-
temic, Tereno, Echoaladi, and the Kinikinao G
(Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, pp. 239–240). Estimates 175
of the total Guaná population vary. At the end 161
of the eighteenth century Aguirre and Azara gave
the total Guaná population as 8,200. The Mbayá M
also claimed this part of the Chaco as their home 131
but, owing to their nomadic habits, ranged over a
wider territory stretching all the way from the
present site of Asunción to where Corumbá now M
stands. Labrador estimated the Mbayá as num- 161
bering between 7,000 and 8,000. During this M
period the Mbayá were composed of the following 101
subdivisions: Cadiquegodí (Caduveo), Guetiade-
godí, Apacachodegodegí, Lichagotegodí, Eyibo-
godegí, Gotocogegodegí, and Beutuebo (ibid., vol.
1, pp. 217–218). M

Early writers, imbued with medieval concep- G
tions of political status, claimed to see in this inter-
dependence a relationship of lord and serf after the 105
European pattern. This view on the basis of their 114
own evidence appears exaggerated. A thorough- 566
going system of social stratification based on
cultural differences usually implies some degree
of political unity and marked distinctions in status G
and social functions. The Mbayá never achieved M
political unity as a tribe nor did they exercise 105
organized authority over the Guaná as a whole. 621
To the end of the Mbayá remained organized on a
"band" basis. The Guaná always had their own 648
lands and villages, their own social organization 63
and chiefs. The fact that the Mbayá chiefs mar-
ried Guaná women of rank seems to imply a de-
gree of equality between the chiefly classes of the G
two peoples. M

Through intermarriage Mbayá chiefs are said 648
to have become chiefs of Guaná settlements. Just 105
how this political domination was achieved is not G
made clear. It is stated that the Guaná had fe-
male chiefs and that marriage with a Mbayá [562]
chief gave him rights over his wife's people. [622]
There is some doubt that the Guaná had female
chiefs—the Terena, for instance, stoutly deny this.
Even if this were true, it is not clear how a female
chief's husband could usurp his wife's position
in a tribe where female chieftainship was a cul-
turally defined rule. When we learn that the

[P. 2-A]

Mbayá chief's privileges were restricted to the immediate G
relatives and following of the Guaná M 105
woman and could be exercised only by himself and 648
his close relatives, the purely political aspects of
the relationship are diminished. The suggestion
made here is that the Mbayá-Guaná relationship
was essentially a symbiotic interdependence based
on kinship. Certain Mbayá were linked to certain
Guaná through consanguineal and affinal kinship
bonds. In this relationship the Mbayá held M
a superior position because of the prestige arising [554]
from their military power. The Guaná, as a
whole, however, maintained their political and
economic autonomy.

Among the Mbayá, on the other hand, emphasis M
on warfare had already led to the development 554
of rank based on war honors and the possession 565
of slaves or war captives. Among the chiefs a [567]
distinction was made between those who received
this position through birth and those who received [622]
it through favor. Between these two chiefly [727]
grades and the slaves were the great body of
hunters and warriors. Although there is nothing M
particularly strange in the fact that the warlike
Mbayá had slaves, there seems to be, however, a 847
functional relationship between the Mbayá desire 727
to capture women and children and the Mbayá 567
practice of infanticide.

The Mbayá custom of abortion and infanticide M 834
has been stressed by many writers. The Caduveo
today explain these practices by saying that a [847]
mother is forbidden to have sexual intercourse
while nursing her child and rather than forego
sex and run the risk of losing the affections of her
husband a woman avoids having children. The
Caduveo go further and explain that they had,
in the past, to capture women and children in order
to maintain their numbers. One would expect
that powerful sanctions would be necessary to enforce
compliance with a rule prohibiting sexual
intercourse during the nursing period. Beyond
saying that it is bad for the parents, the Caduveo
make no explicit mention of the consequences resulting
from the breaking of this rule. It may be
that this rule is sanctioned, at least partly, by
the economic circumstances which, among a nomadic G
hunting people, make numerous small children M
a burden upon their parents. The distinctions 174
of rank, the possession of war captives as
slaves, as well as the symbiotic relationship be- 648

[P. 2-B]

tween the Mbayá and Guaná can be thus correlated G M
with the historical juxtaposition of a warlike 174
hunting tribe and a less warlike agricultural tribe. 648

The introduction of the horse into the Chaco M
both altered and accentuated the already existing 177
relationships between the Mbayá and Guaná. 648
Quite characteristically the warlike Guaicurú-speaking 231
people were the first to adopt the horse.
The Mbayá are said to have had the horse by 1672 554
(Azara, 1923, vol. 2, p. 58). To the Mbayá bands
the horse gave increased mobility and striking
power. The more distant tribes and even the
Spanish outposts could now be reached and raided
with impunity. The use of iron for making spearheads,
knives, and axes added to the power of the
individual warrior. With increased military
power came increased wealth in war captives,
horses, cattle, and other loot. The social distinctions
based on birth, military exploits, and wealth M
became more pronounced. War captives became [727]
so numerous that they could no longer be absorbed
and became, in reality, a slave class. The leading [567]
chiefs and their relatives adopted a proud and arrogant
attitude in keeping with their wealth and
prestige and their freedom from the mundane
tasks of hunting and fishing.

The Guaná, too, adopted the horse. Whether G
all the Guaná groups became horsemen is not clear. 231
The Terena, at least, adopted the horse, took to 177
raiding, captured slaves, and developed a warrior 554
class and marked distinctions of social rank. This 648
development, however, did not break the relationship
between the Guaná and Mbayá. Yet, it would
seem that the relationship between the two horse-using
groups could be scarcely defined as one existing
between lord and serf or even one of symbiosis.
On the basis of what the Terena and Caduveo say
today, it would appear to have been much closer
to a form of alliance in which the Mbayá held the
superior position. Until the pacification of the
northern Chaco toward the end of the eighteenth
century the Mbayá and their Guaná henchmen
remained nomadic horsemen dependent on raiding
and to some extent on stock raising and, in the
case of the Guaná, on limited agriculture. An
incipient territorial state never grew out of
Mbayá supremacy. To the last they remained
raiders. M

Warfare between the Mbayá and the Spaniards, 648
who had settled in what is now Paraguay, began 175

[P. 3-A]

in the sixteenth century and continued until 1756, M 648
when the southern and eastern Mbayá bands made 175
peace with the Spaniards. The Mbayá on the
western side of the Paraguay River, however,
pushed northward and began raiding other Indian
tribes and the Portuguese settlers in Mato Grosso.
Allied with the Payaguá, another Guaicurú-speaking
tribe, some of the Mbayá, taking to
canoes, continued to raid the Portuguese throughout
most of the eighteenth century, concentrating
on the river traffic along the upper Paraguay,
Taquary, and Cuiabá Rivers. In 1791 the Mbayá
made peace with the Portuguese, and by the end
of the century many of their bands were found
settled near Coimbra in Portuguese territory.

During the eighteenth century the Caduveo, M
then known as the Cadiquegodí, seem to have carried [101]
on their raids on both sides of the Paraguay
River. In the nineteenth century the Caduveo M
were ranging in the territory between Rio Branco [131]
and Miranda River on the east of the Paraguay
River where they finally settled. During the
Paraguayan War, from 1865 to 1870, what were
left of the Mbayá fought with the Brazilians
against the Paraguayans. At the beginning of the
twentieth century the Caduveo were granted possession
of an area of land in southern Mato Grosso,
Brazil, between the Nabileque and Aquidaban
Rivers, bounded on the west by the Paraguay River
and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena. It is in
this reservation, rich in agricultural and grazing
land and plentifully supplied with fish and game, M
that some 150 Caduveo are now living in three [162]
villages under the protection of the Brazilian Government.

The Guaná, too, by the end of the eighteenth G
century had moved northward and had settled 175
near the present site of Corumbá. In 1845 Castelnau 131
described a Guaná settlement in this area G
as consisting of 65 houses made after the Brazilian [241]
pattern, and he stated that the people were hard-working
agriculturists, growing rice, beans,
maize, manioc, sugarcane, and cotton (Castelnau,
1850-59, vol. 2, p. 396). In the same year Castelnau
visited a Terena settlement near Miranda.
He stated that the Terena had just arrived from G
the Chaco and were located in four villages, the [161]
total population being about 3,000. He says of G
the Terena, "This is a nation of warriors who have [648]
preserved all the customs of their fathers. . .

175 648 In their possession still are objects which they took from the Spaniards, whom they massacred" (ibid., vol. 2, p. 469).

It appears then that with the building of forts along the banks of the Paraguay River by both the Spaniards and the Portuguese around the turn of the eighteenth century a gradual process of pacification set in. By 1845 the Guaná tribes had severed their connections with the Mbayá, the Terena moving to their present location near Miranda in southern Mato Grosso. [131] Miranda, at this date, was garrisoned by Brazilian troops, and the Terena and the Caduveo, excepting when they participated in Brazilian wars, had definitely given up raiding.

175 361 The Terena of Bananal say that when they arrived at their present location, Tovolé was the chief of the group that settled at Ipegue. Other Terena groups settled nearby under the leadership of their chiefs. They add that groups of Terena continued to come from the Chaco until the Paraguayan War (1865–70). In 1904, when General Rondon was in southern Mato Grosso putting up a telegraph line, Tovolé's son, José Tavares Caetano, was the chief of the Terena at Ipegue. He had a uniform and a badge of office presented to him by Emperor Pedro II of Brazil. [648] It was during these years that the Terena had great difficulties with the "fazendeiros," or Brazilian cattlemen, who infringed upon the lands which had been given to them by the Brazilian Government. Many of the Terena were forced to scatter far and wide in search of a livelihood. This dispersion of the Terena, as we shall see later, had an important influence upon their culture. At the death of José Tavares Caetano, Manoel Pedro became chief and held office until 1916, when the Post was established and Marcolini Lili became chief. In 1946 Marcolini Lili left the village of Bananal over a matter concerning his son. At present the principal Terena settlement at Bananal has no chief, but it is possible that Marcolini Lili will return.

175 648 The most important event in the life of both the Terena and the Caduveo during the present century was the establishment in 1910 of the Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios). With the definite allocation and protection of Indian lands and setting up of Posts to protect the interests of the Indians, a new era began for the Terena and the Caduveo.

[P. 4-A]

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As we look over the history of the Terena and Caduveo, first as integral parts of the Guaná and Mbayá, and later as the separate remnants of these two groups, we are able to see three principal stages of development: First, a stage of symbiosis which lasted until the adoption of the horse; second, a more purely nomadic stage based on the use of the horse for raiding during which the two groups acted on more equal terms; and third, the period of the last hundred years when, with pacification, a process of adjustment to Brazilian conditions set in.

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In contrasting the historical fortunes of these two peoples, we might say this: Today, the Caduveo, the survivors of the once mighty Mbayá, are an impoverished and demoralized people. From conquerors, raiders, and tribute gatherers, they have been reduced to itinerant laborers, hunters, and indifferent agriculturists. Once the aristocrats of the Chaco with a class and military organization, they are now counted among the less fortunate Indians living as wards of the Brazilian Government. This decline in numbers, wealth, and social status seems definitely to be connected with the abolition of warfare. With pacification, the Mbayá bands lost their hold over weaker peoples and, eventually, their slaves, and with this loss their fortunes waned. The few remaining Caduveo have reverted to their original economy, namely, hunting, and do not appear to be able to adapt themselves to an economy based on agriculture and stock keeping in a location ideally suited for this purpose.

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On the other hand, the Terena, as the survivors of the Guaná people, never completely gave up nor forgot their age-old heritage of agriculture. Even with the great difficulties that they were forced to undergo around the beginning of the present century, they have taken up agriculture and wage work and are making a much better adjustment to Brazilian conditions than their Caduveo neighbors. In fact, the Brazilian Indian Service is considering settling a number of Terena families among the Caduveo to teach them better agricultural methods. Today, a Terena Indian is acting as an assistant to the Brazilian manager in charge of the Caduveo Post. The Terena have also maintained their population, for they number approximately 3,000, the same figure as reported by Castelnau in 1845. Compared from the point

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[161]

[P. 4-B]

Terena
Mbaya SK11 M G 155 648 [511]

Compared from the point of view of the standards of living, health, education, and social status, the Terena are, today, superior to their former leaders, the Mbayá-Caduveo.

The Mbayá are a good example of a people who developed a specialized culture. Emphasis upon warfare enabled them to achieve great successes through the domination of weaker tribes. Just how the Mbayá acquired these Spartan qualities is, of course, hidden in their pre-Columbian history. Whether their warlike propensities were borrowed from Andean sources or were developed in the incessant tribal conflicts of the Chaco we may never know. But it is clear that when first discovered by the Spaniards they were, along with the other Guaicurú-speaking tribes, the military masters of the Chaco. Once the conditions favorable to warfare and domination were removed, the Mbayá declined rapidly and were left with hunting as the only traditional means of livelihood.

An interesting comparison between the post-Columbian development of the North American Plains tribes and the Mbayá can also be drawn. After the adoption of the horse the North American Plains tribes became buffalo hunters, practically attaching themselves to large herds of buffalo, warfare being practiced against other horse-using tribes as a means of acquiring horses and prestige. In the Chaco there were no comparable herds of wild animals to hunt, but with the adoption of the horse the Mbayá were better able to exploit their weaker neighbors as a source of both wealth and social prestige.

M 142 M [123] M [144]

Although efforts were made to take physical measurements of the Caduveo, their suspicion of the measuring instruments could not be overcome. Today, the Caduveo are the result of a mixture with their former Chamacoco slaves and with the Guaná as a result of intermarriage over a long period, so it is doubtful whether any knowledge of the physical type of the original Mbayá could have been obtained in any event. Early writers appear to be unanimous in their description of the Mbayá as a tall, well-built, athletic people (Sánchez Lab-

[Chaco Period]

THE TERENA

(Pls. 1-11)

TERENA ECONOMY IN THE CHACO

HABITAT

Although it is no longer possible to determine 174
by direct investigation the exact nature of the 241
economy of the Terena upon their entry into the Chaco, indirect evidence points to agriculture as being the basis of subsistence. The Terena are an [197]
Arawak-speaking people and the Arawak-speaking tribes in the Amazon Basin are predominantly agriculturists. Terena myths tell of how 174
Yúrikoyuvakái taught the people to practice agri- 241
culture: 539

> The Indians were hungry but they had no tools and did not know how to obtain food. The twins then gave the Indians all their tools. To the men, *Yúrikoyuvakái* gave the ax, *pooóoti;* the digging stick, *ñome'i;* the knife, *píritaa;* the sickle, *yopilocóti;* the war club, *pulú'oi;* the bow. *shekié;* arrows, *sheeré;* and the spear, *sulké.* To the women, the twins gave the spindle, *hopée.* *Yúrikoyuvakái* then taught the Indians how to hunt, fish, and grow crops.

We know, too, from old records, that the Arawak- 174
speaking neighbors of the Terena were agricultur- 241
ists. Thus, although no direct written or verbal [127]
evidence exists concerning the original nature of Terena economy it appears reasonably safe to assume that they were agriculturists in pre-Columbian days.

The Terena now describe their economic life in 174
the Chaco as having been based on agriculture, 241
hunting, fishing, collecting, and raiding. This 433
shift away from an emphasis on agriculture is understandable. The Chaco with comparatively [136]
greater sources of wild food plants, fish, and game [137]
than existed in the tropical forest, offered not only the resources but a stimulus for their use. In addi- 174
tion, the practice of agriculture in the Chaco was 241
not the same as in the rain forest. The long drought period in the Chaco demanded a storable [132]
surplus not necessary in a region where annual rainfall is more evenly distributed. Above all, the [648]
Terena came into contact with Chaco tribes that depended principally upon hunting, fishing, and collecting, and a mutual exchange of economic customs seems to have taken place. When the Terena [177]
took over the horse and the practice of hunting and raiding their neighbors on horseback, dependence

[P. 6-A]

[Chaco Period]
[Post-Chaco Period]

in want owing to illness or misfortune. Livestock, 421
slaves, houses, and cultivated lands were the only [428]
forms of property that were actually inherited.
The practice of burning a dead person's private [768]
property, consisting of clothing, tools, weapons,
and ceremonial objects, over the person's grave
solved the problem of their disposal. Even the
houses were sometimes burnt, although the general practice was to change the doorway so that
the ghost of the deceased could not find its way
back.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

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It appears, from what the Terena say, that the 476
household was the primary economic unit. Both
the men and women of the household, with what- 592
ever slaves they might have possessed, participated
in agricultural labor. The men performed the 462
heavy work of clearing and hoeing the ground,
while the women and older children assisted in [241]
planting, weeding, and harvesting. The preparation of food, cooking, spinning and weaving, and
pottery making were the activities of the women.
Men's work consisted of hunting, fishing, tool making, preparation of skins, basket making, and warfare. Both sexes participated in collecting wild
plant foods.

The men of the village would participate in a 476
communal hunt on horseback if such large action [224]
was deemed advisable. If land was difficult to
clear, several closely related households would [241]
assist one another in the work of clearing. Kinsmen, even when dwelling in different households, [602]
would assist each other in economic activities.

PRESENT-DAY ECONOMY OF THE TERENA

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GENERAL DESCRIPTION 178

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The migration of the Terena into their present ●
location in Brazilian territory was followed by [167]
many changes in their economy. Here they
found a new physical and social environment.
Southern Mato Grosso was already under effective Brazilian control. Brazilian cattlemen were
pushing westward, seeking land and labor for
their new enterprises. The old free life of culti- [361]
vation, hunting, fishing, and raiding came to an
end—the Terena had to settle down. On the lands 177
allotted to them, they began to cultivate plots of 241
manioc, maize, sugarcane, cotton, and other crops 648

[Post-Chaco Period] 177

which were familiar to them from their Chaco 241
days. The food supply obtained through culti- 648
vation was augmented by hunting, fishing, and
work on nearby cattle ranches.

Soon, however, difficulties arose. Cattlemen[1] 166
began to encroach upon Indian lands, using these 648
lands for grazing and, in many cases, divesting
the Indians of the rights to their use. Terena
lands were held under no secure title. It is said
that documents relating to land grants given to [768]
Terena chiefs were often burnt over a dead chief's [423]
grave, making evidence of ownership even more
uncertain. The effect of this pressure on Indian
lands resulted in many of the Terena leaving set-
tlements like Bananal and Ipegue in an effort to [177]
make a livelihood by working on the ranches and [464]
in the nearby towns of Miranda and Aquidauana.
Wage work with its inevitable uncertainties caused [465]
great hardships to these homeless Indians.

With the allocation of Indian lands and the es- 177
tablishment of the Indian Post at Taunay in 1916 311
and, later, Posts in all the important settlements,
economic conditions began to improve. Indian 423
lands were parceled out in lots 45 m. square. In 648
each village a man could obtain a lot on which he
could build his house and cultivate a garden. If
he wished more land he could go outside the vil-
lage and use as many lots as he could effectively
cultivate. These Indian lands, however, remained
the property of the Brazilian Government. Indian
rights were use rights only. Outside the village
an Indian had only to fence in a lot and begin
cultivating and as long as he used this land it
remained his. He could, of course, abandon it at
any time he wished, after which some other Terena
could begin using it. In the village an Indian 425
could sell his house and other improvements to
another Indian, but he could not sell the land
on which the property stood. Sales of this type
are not common, as land is still plentiful, both in-
side and outside most Terena villages. In spite of 648
these restrictions the Terena are adequately pro- 563
tected, as only Indians can use reservation lands.
An Indian from another tribe under the protec-
tion of the Government is able to settle among the
Terena with the consent of the Post manager. This
practice is not common, however, and is usually
restricted to Indians who marry Terena women.

The land problem, although basic, was only one 648
of the consequences of the increasing interaction

[1] [i.e., Brazilian Cattlemen — Analyst]

[P. 14-A]

[Post-Chaco Period]

between the Terena and their Brazilian neighbors. 648
Economically, the impact of a foreign people was
felt in many ways. The proximity of Brazilian 648
farmers, cattlemen, railroad workers, and traders, 177
in itself stimulated a desire for change in habits,
customs, and beliefs. The guiding hand of the
missionaries and the managers of the Indian Posts [797]
affected the life of the Terena more intimately and
directly. The missionaries taught the people to
wear modern clothes, to use modern tools, and to
learn to read Portuguese. The managers of the
Posts taught the Indians to build modern houses
and to clear land and plant new crops. In addition, they taught them such handicrafts as blacksmithing, bricklaying, leatherwork, and the use
of the sewing machine. Inevitably, close association with the Brazilians created changes in the
needs of the Terena; the dietary pattern began to
change, and new demands for clothing, ornaments,
and amusements became integral parts of Terena
economy.

The economic effect of these contacts and changes 177
was the growing dependence of the Terena on the 436
money economy of their Brazilian neighbors. In
order to get clothes, tools, rice, maté tea, matches,
tobacco, and alcoholic beverages the Indians
needed money. The railroad and the cattle 177
ranches offered a ready labor market and we 464
find the Terena in increasing numbers going to
work as cattle drivers and horse breakers on
the ranches and as section hands on the railroad. The labor market also increased travel
and a widening consciousness of the non-Indian
world. The Indians became acquainted with
the larger towns, such as Campo Grande and
Porto Esperança. Some of the Terena were stimulated in their desire to learn to read, to do simple
arithmetic, and to understand the ways of the
strange new world. In addition to the demand 177
for labor, the cattle ranches and the nearby towns 433
of Taunay, Aquidauana, and Miranda offered a 439
ready market for manioc meal, raw sugar, and
hand-woven hammocks. In this way wage labor
and trade became essential elements in Terena
economy.

In spite of these changes subsistence agriculture, even today, forms the basis of livelihood. 241
On their lots the Terena produce manioc, maize,
beans, squashes, sugarcane, rice, bananas, oranges,
mangoes, and a few additional minor crops. Man-

THE VILLAGE OF BANANAL

The village of Bananal (P. I. Taunay) is situated 361 about 4 km. north of the railroad station of 133 Taunay. Bananal and the surrounding Indian lands are located on a low plateau which rises gently from the valley of the Aquidauana River. [134] The soils of the plateau, laterites and tropical red soils, are derived from a crystalline base. The native vegetation belonging to the savanna belt [137] of Central Brazil consists of scrub forest and grass, with heavier forest in the permanent water courses. The plateau is cut by numerous streams which are practically dry in the dry season but [132] swell into relatively large streams during the rains extending from October to April. Erosion is superficial, as the vegetative cover has not been disturbed by overgrazing or extensive plowing.

The village is laid out in rectangular blocks 361 separated by broad streets lined with mango trees. The central avenue forms part of the road which [363] runs from Taunay to the Terena village of Ipegue, some 3 km. northeast of Bananal. Surrounding [487] Bananal and Ipegue are large fazendas, many of which are connected by minor roads or paths.

The water supply for the inhabitants of the village 312 is furnished by 12 wells, ranging in depth from 40 to 50 feet, 6 of which were constructed by the Government. At least two of the Government wells are furnished with pumps, one being operated by a windmill. Water for the stock, washing clothes, and taking baths is furnished by 313 two dams on the outskirts of the village. Firewood for cooking is cut in the scrub forest outside the village. 311 Areas not fenced in for farming are used as common pasture.

The official center of Bananal is the Post, consisting of such buildings as the residence of the 361 manager, the school, the hospital, and the official [648] visitors' building. These buildings are all made of red brick with tile roofs and unglazed tile floors. They are fenced in and surrounded by orange, lemon, and mango trees. None of the buildings have more than one story. In addition to these [368] Government buildings, there is the Protestant mission school and the Catholic church. The rest of the buildings belong to the Indians. From a total of 86 buildings in the village, 75 are occupied.

Terena houses vary, not so much in size and 342 shape, as in the material from which they are con-

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 22-A--Analyst]

[Post Chaco Period]

RECENT CHANGES

As soon as the Terena came into Brazilian ter- 177
ritory their social organization began to change. 565
The political organization was the first to feel 648
the impact of the new conditions. In Brazilian territory raiding and warfare were no longer possible. With the cessation of warfare the position of war chief fell into disuse and with it the social status of the *shuna'asheti*, or warrior class. Although individuals still speak with pride about their warrior grandfathers, there is no marked social distinction given to anyone who can trace his descent from a *shuna'asheti*. Above all, the Brazilians did not recognize war chiefs as chiefs, nor did they accept differences between individuals on the basis of social status or rank. In appointing chiefs as spokesmen for the various Terena
settlements the Brazilians asked the Terena to [622]
select a leading individual for this position, and as the Terena gave highest rank to the moiety chiefs and their relatives, the new chiefs came from this class further debasing the *shuna'asheti*.

The Brazilian custom of selecting a captain or 177
chief to represent each Terena settlement was also 622
instrumental in breaking down the dual organi- 648
zation. The Terena claim that the man chosen 616
was the outstanding moiety chief of a village at the time when they entered Brazil. Once this choice was made there was a tendency for the chieftainship to pass from father to son. When the Brazilian Government deposed a chief and appointed one of their own choice, they selected an outstanding man who would do their bidding, disregarding altogether the class structure of the Terena. However the choice was made, once the recognition of only one chief became customary the term was no longer applied to another individual in the settlement. Above all, the new chief
had much greater powers than the old moiety [554]
chiefs who were actually only ceremonial leaders. The new chief was a direct representative of the Brazilian Government and as such was instrumental in making distributions of lands, providing economic assistance, finding work for the men, and in maintaining order in the settlement.

It might be argued that in spite of the new politi- 178
cal orientation, the moieties could still have re- 182
tained their function in regulating marriage and 616
in organizing ceremonial life. In accordance with the statements of Terena informants the moieties

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organized on a basis of new forms of opposition 177
which have largely replaced the old dual organiza- 182
tion but which continue the underlying social mo- 795
tives for organized opposition. The Terena are
keenly aware of these new social activities and
their competitive nature, and most of their leisure
time is taken up in training for, carrying on, or
otherwise participating in these activities.

The Terena admit that they had slaves when 178
they arrived in Brazil, yet, they are, today, at a 567
loss to explain what happened to them. As slaves
were captured as children it is not likely that they 565
returned to their original homes. On the other
hand, the Terena never mention anyone as having
slave blood, something which is still customary
among the Caduveo. The Terena also deny that
they married slaves. If this were strictly true the
only tenable hypothesis is that the slave class as a
social group lost its identity along with the gen-
eral disappearance of social stratification. The [648]
fact that slavery was made illegal in Brazil in 1888
undoubtedly had its effect, but important, too, was [797]
the effect of the Protestant missionaries, who have
been active among the Terena since 1913.

Another circumstance which in all probability 178
led to the disappearance of the distinction between 182
slave and free man was the dispersion of the Terena
during the eighties and nineties of the last century. 565
The encroachment of the "fazendeiros" upon Te- [464]
rena lands forced the Terena to seek a livelihood
through wage labor. This tended to put all Terena
on the same economic and social level. When they [511]
again came together on reservation lands around
1910, the old class distinctions were more or less
effaced. A new generation had grown up in the
meantime which had not participated in the old
pattern of tribal life. This fact of dispersion and
subsequent regrouping is something which the [361]
Caduveo did not experience and may account for [171]
the more rapid disappearance of class distinctions
among the Terena than is true among the Caduveo.
Another contributing factor may be the fact that
the Terena developed a class structure later than
the Mbayá and that it never became so strong a
part of their social organization as it did among
the Mbayá.

The primary cause for the disappearance, not only of slavery but of the whole class structure of *unati*, *shuna'asheti*, *wahereshane*, and *kauti*, was the forced abandonment of warfare and the no-

[Post Chaco Period]

madic life based on the horse. Class structure 178
among the horse-using Indians of the Chaco was 182
intimately associated with raiding the livestock
and children of their settled neighbors. Individuals 565
who were successful raiders accumulated wealth and honor and became a class apart. One form of wealth consisted of human beings, or slaves. When the Terena entered Brazil and settled down as farmers and wage workers this pattern of life was abandoned and along with it the class structure.

The unity of the extended family and the kindred 178
was weakened in much the same way. The
economic and political bands which drew Terena 182
kinsfolk together in the Chaco gradually fell into 596
disuse in Brazil. During the dispersion when families had to scatter far and wide to gain a livelihood on the fazendas, in towns, and in railroad camps the dependence of kinsmen upon one another for economic assistance was not possible. Each family tended to become a self-sustaining unit, dependent upon its own efforts to maintain itself through labor or beggary when work was not available. This condition of family independence was not changed with the settlement of the Terena
on Government lands. The Post was the new protector [648]
and provider. In sickness and in want the family could call on the manager of the Post for assistance. The Post provided land, tools, and building materials to families who wished to establish themselves on reservation lands. Work was available if the crops failed. Medical assistance was also given free of charge. In those [797]
Terena villages where missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, were active, additional economic and medical assistance was available. The Terena
no longer live in large houses occupied by an extended [342]
family, the members of which cooperate in economic activities and provide mutual assistance, but in smaller family homes, each family depending upon agriculture and wage work and, if these sources fail, upon the help of the Post and the mission station.

The extended family lost its political functions also. In the past, members of an extended family banded together to protect the life, property, and honor of each other. Today, any individual can seek this protection from the manager of the Post and his police force. The Terena now live under Brazilian law as represented by the Post manager.

[P. 34-A]

[Post Chaco Period]

101

and led to a process of reintegration and social 177
stability. 182

Associated with security in land tenure, and as 648
part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of [673]
unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another [681]
reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving [682]
murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

The presence of a permanent home and the pro- 177
tection of person and property provided by the 182
Indian Service makes a stable community life 191
possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant school where they are taught to

[P. 35-B]

[Post Chaco Period]

speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena 177
remains the language of the village. Among 182
themselves the Terena, young and old, use their 191
own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained.

We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which 177
have led to the integration of the Terena as a 182
group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indianism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena 648
are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service.

As the manager is the highest authority and 177
social leader in the village, it follows that status 554
among the Terena is measured in relation to the
patronage and good will of the manager. Out- 648
standing Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and

fences, and provides them with credit if they wish 177 to buy oxen, horses, saddles, and other equipment 554 beyond their immediate capacity to pay. On the 648 ● other hand, if the men are drunkards and shirk their duties to their families and the Post, they are required to work and receive not money but credit for food and clothing at a certain store in the nearby town of Taunay. It follows from this that the manager has close friends and also enemies. The present manager of Bananal claims that he has an armed Indian bodyguard to protect him from Indians who hate him for enforcing Indian Service regulations. How much of this is really due to specific Indian ill will or to the prevalent custom in Mato Grosso of important men having bodyguards is not quite certain. At least we can say that social status or the lack of status is closely connected with the manager of the Post.

The other contact agent and molding force 177 among the Terena is the Protestant mission station. The activities of the missionaries go far 797 beyond the inculcation of Protestant religious doctrine. Besides religious teaching the missionaries supervise the moral behavior of their followers. Smoking, drinking, dancing, and sex irregularities are prohibited, and the breaking of these rules results in a loss of status, and of economic, medical, and educational assistance. The son of the present chief who had caused the pregnancy of a girl in the village was asked by the missionaries to marry the girl. For one reason or another the chief's son refused to do so. The Protestant missionaries were powerful enough to have the man exiled from [684] the village. This caused considerable disturbance among the Indians, as neither the Indians nor the Brazilians take the same view of the unmarried mother as do the American Protestant missionaries. On the writer's last visit to Bananal both the chief and his son had withdrawn from the settlement and were living in a nearby town, at least temporarily. Actually this matter had repercus- [648] sions on higher levels, for the Indian Service closed the Protestant school for some months. This event reveals the power and importance of the Protestant missionaries in influencing life in the village. Conformity to the Protestant way of life is customarily achieved through economic and medical rewards, and it does seem true that the Protestant Indians have better and cleaner houses and are educationally more advanced. Yet, it is

nomadism and to the abandonment of permanent 105
settlements, probably giving rise to a band type of 177
organization resembling that of the Mbayá. [361]

2. On entering Brazil the military and class
organization was the first to disappear. The ap- 105
pointment of captains or village chiefs first weak- 177
ened and finally abolished the positions of the 182
moiety chiefs.

3. During the period in which the Terena were
forced to disperse and seek a livelihood on the
fazendas, the function of the moieties in regulat- [616]
ing marriage and in organizing ceremonials grew
weaker, an individual being able to marry his
opposite and to shift temporarily into the opposite
moiety during ceremonials.

4. With the reintegration of the Terena on reservation lands the moieties as functional entities disappeared altogether, being replaced by other forms of social organization.

The present social organization we might, there- 105
fore, summarize as follows: The some 3,000 [162]
Terena, today, occupy 11 settlements. Ten of the
local groups, or villages, are established on defined [648] ●
areas of Government land. Contact between the
members of the different villages is maintained [628]
through intermarriage, visiting between relatives
and friends, football matches between the principal
villages, cooperation in dances, pageants, and religious processions.

Within the principal villages we find the fol- [594]
lowing structural elements: The basic unit is the
individual family, which carries on the primary
economic activities associated with the rearing and
training of the young. The extended family is [596]
no longer a defined house group although bilateral
kinship ties are strong, very much after the Brazilian pattern. Young married men live either [591]
with their fathers or fathers-in-law in the same
house, but in most cases they sooner or later build
their own houses on the same lot. Politically the
village is organized around the Post with the [648]
Brazilian manager exercising authority through [361]
his police force and the Terena village chief, or
headman. In the principal villages the people
are organized into two religious groups, Catholics [771]
and Protestants, centering around missionary activities. In recreational activities the larger
villages are organized into football teams and, in [526]
Bananal, into a football club which organizes Brazilian dances. Native dances like the shaman

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

Native dances like the shaman 105
dance and the "bate-pau" are organized by dance
leaders. In economic affairs there is some degree [535]
of specialization, owing to the presence of stores,
masons, carpenters, and commercial agricultural [463]
activities.

The Terena as a people are linked to the non- 105
Indian world, first, by being made a part of the
Brazilian State through the activities of the In- 177
dian Service and its representatives, the Post managers. Secondly, they are linked to the Catholic and Protestant churches by means of the missionaries active among them. Thirdly, they are economically linked to the fazendas and neighboring towns owing to dependence upon wage work.

The attitude of the local Brazilian toward the 105
Terena is one of tolerant disdain. Like other In- 648
dians they are sometimes called "bugres," a term
of abuse associated with sodomy and heresy. The 186
Indian, a Brazilian will say, is "a drunkard, a thief, lazy, and unreliable. He works when he feels like it and will leave his job for no reason at all." There is, however, no discrimination on racial grounds; if an Indian is educated and a good worker he is accepted as an equal. The Brazilian treats a Terena as a member of a minority group and points out the social characteristics of this group. A Terena, on the other hand, accepts Brazilians in general as superiors but adds that if he were better educated he could compete with a Brazilian on equal terms. That these attitudes are rather class attitudes than race attitudes is revealed by the statement which a Terena made about the Caduveo, "If the Caduveo would only stop hunting and killing one another and start farming like we do they would be better off." The Terena recognize the fact that the Caduveo were once great warriors and held a superior position. But as they are now poor hunters they are considered as having lower status than the Terena. Status
differences between the Indian groups and between [554]
the Brazilians and Indians are, therefore, primarily based on economic and social conditions rather than on racial differences.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (IPUHICOTI-HIUKÁ)

The Terena recognize that pregnancy is caused 843
by sexual intercourse. A woman becomes aware [842]
that she is pregnant when her menses cease and

[P. 38-A]

[Post Chaco Period]
[Chaco Period]

is given. All Terena children are welcome at the 797 Protestant school irrespective of the religious 872 faith of their parents. Children receive medical attention if they are ill and report their illness to the missionaries. Boys and girls attend school together, the teachers insisting that each child be dressed in clean clothing. Outside of being [876] kept in after school, there is no other form of punishment.

The official Government school has an attendance 648 of about 37 students. The wife of the manager 872 of the Post acts as a teacher, with a Brazilian 797 girl as an assistant. The curriculum is the same as at the Protestant school. The Terena prefer [875] to send their children to the Protestant school because they believe they learn more and will finish the 4-year course of instruction. Pupils tend to leave the Government school as soon as they are able to read and write a little. The Protestant school also gives prizes to good students, consisting of articles of clothing and books.

The Protestant missionaries have established 797 schools in all the larger Terena villages. At 872 Ipegue there is a school with 80 pupils and at Moreira a school with 50 pupils. The missionaries say that Terena children are industrious and [181] learn rather quickly. Yet, they say that no Terena student has gone beyond the 4 years, even when they have an opportunity in some of the neighboring towns. Even at that, the present status of education among the Terena compares well with the prevalent illiteracy in the rural areas of Brazil.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The old Terena believed in a "High God," 776 [776] *Itukoviche*, in the culture hero twins, *Yúrikoyuvakái*, and in such evil spirits as *Vanónu*, *Voropí*, and *Hihíaiumé*. Insofar as all things were believed [774] to have a soul the Terena can be said to have believed in animism. Magic was based on the belief that certain plants, animals, and inanimate [789] objects possessed powers which could be used to bring about good or evil results. Shamanism 775 was highly developed and the spirits of dead shamans were used by living shamans to influence [756] the affairs of men. Ghosts of the dead were feared, as they were believed to cause death if permitted

He calls them by name, shaking his *itáaka* and 756
holding his *kɨʔpahá*. If people are present he 775
makes them close their eyes while he is calling the spirits. "*Giahí kaponé neishá vomorí*" (Come to me, look at me), he says. This request, twice repeated, is enough to make the spirits come to him. He then makes his wishes known to the spirits. When he is in contact with the spirits he claims [787]
he is in a trance. During trances Eperú says he sometimes visits the Chaco, the place where *Voropí* lives. He says that shamans who get in contact [789]
with *Voropí* are able to control rain. On coming out of the trance he tells people where he has been and with whom he has spoken.

When he is curing, the spirits tells him what to 756
do, how to suck the objects out of the patient's 775
body, or what roots and herbs to use. If a snake 755
has bitten a person, he sucks the wound. He says that when a shaman learns how to cure certain diseases, he does not always have to consult the spirits.

Another shaman, Sabino, is said to be able to 756
perform miracles just like the old Terena shamans. [789]
People claim that they have seen Sabino make "bichos" come out of his mouth. One of the female shamans is said to be visited by a jaguar [776]
spirit. No one has seen the jaguar spirit but they have heard it speaking with the shaman at night.

In addition to the six shamans just mentioned, 177
there are two Indians, Feliciano and Japão, who 755
are said to cure people by blessing them in the 756
Christian fashion. They learned to ask help from the saints when they worked on Brazilian fazendas. These two men, although considered shamans, use Christian saints instead of the ghosts of shamans.

It appears, therefore, that the Terena have adopted Christian beliefs and fitted them into their own pattern of religion. On the other hand, the 648 ●
Brazilians use Terena shamans. Colonel Horta 756
Barbosa, who is in charge of the Indian reservations in this part of Brazil, stated that there are still many active Terena shamans and that one of the female shamans has many Brazilian clients. These "customers" would come long distances to consult her about sickness, lost objects, and matters concerning their personal life. The colonel said that he has no objection to shamanism, but he [273]
did object to the Brazilians bringing cane rum to the reservations.

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable impression, for the Terena speak about him even today. 797

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" established the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought the Terena together and made Catholic missionary activity among them more effective. Around 1920 the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn their mission. By 1925 American Protestant missionaries, belonging to the South American Indian Mission, had established a mission and school at Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse are still active. In 1930 an American branch of the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make periodic visits to the Terena villages. [648]

In addition to the regular activities of the American Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an arrow in his side. The arrow may have something to do with the selection of this saint to serve Indian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint Sebastian provides protection against hunger, sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint. This banner is then presented to the village of Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are predominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration takes place. 797 776 796 177

During the procession the bearer of the banner walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and the faithful. The procession stops in front of each house and the people sing. The banner bearer then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner offers shelter and gives alms to every member in the procession. Wherever the procession happens to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some of the money received is spent on food. During the night dancing is periodically interrupted by prayers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where more dancing and praying take place. 796 177

346
[648]

[797]

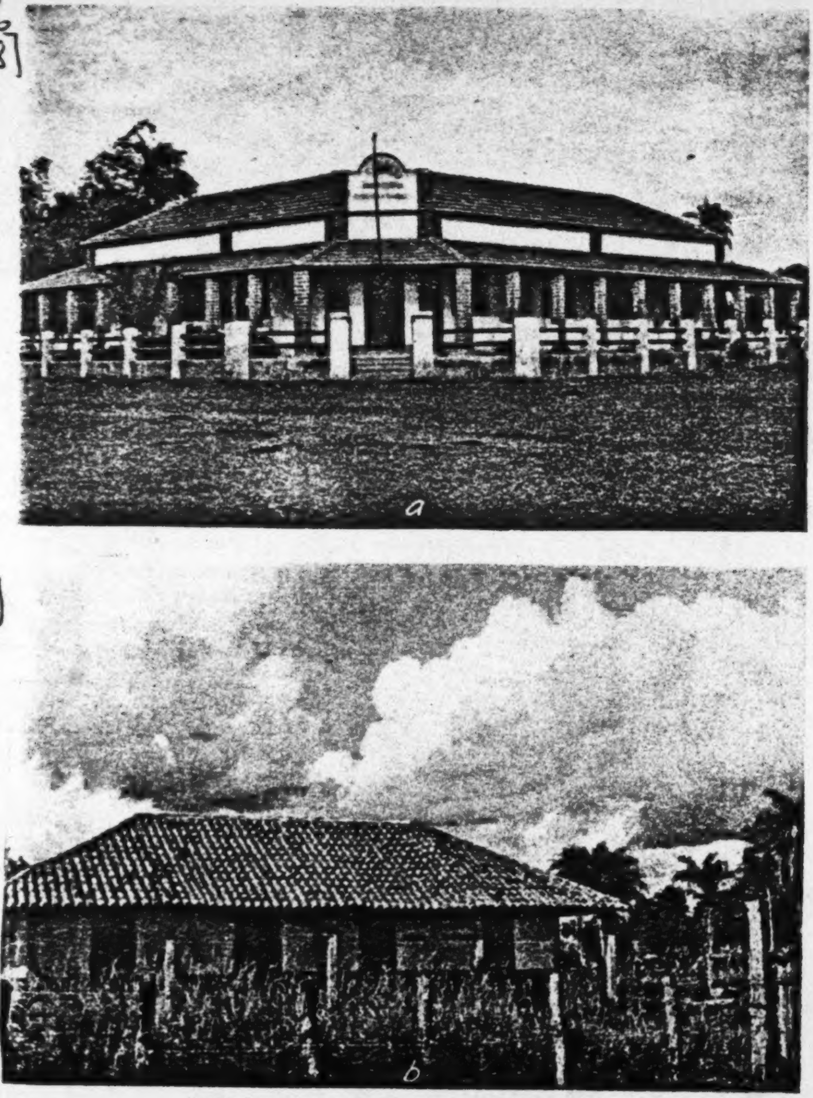

PLATE 3.—Terena schools. a, Government school. b, Protestant mission school.

[P. 75]

[End Plate 3]

/10 cont./

121 how and why, as in the case of the Terêna, they resist merging
177 into the regional population.

121 Studies of groups in an advanced stage of integration are
also recommended for the contribution they can make to the
handling of problems involving the survival of tribal populations.
[114] For this very reason, the Secção de Estudos of the Serviço de
[122] Proteção aos Índios and the Museu de Índio operated by it,
while we worked there with Eduardo Galvão and Roberto Cardoso
de Oliveira, was devoted chiefly to this type of study. The
present work is the fruit of this orientation and gives a measure
of the contribution that ethnology can make in the formulation
and execution of a scientifically oriented native policy that
could open new and better living perspectives to the native
populations of Brazil.

121 The theme of this study is an analysis of the explicative
177 possibilities of this rare Brazilian instance of a tribe which
619 traveled practically the full road of acculturation while retaining a considerable populational rise, reached a high degree of
participation in regional life, but in spite of this remains
differentiated, identifying itself and being identified as native.

121 The explicative value of the Terêna case is all the
177 greater because the Terêna are divided into various subgroups
101 that present several variants of the general conditions of interaction of tribal groups with the national society. While some
of the subgroups enjoyed a certain state of isolation and relative autonomy, others were compelled to live next to tribes
that spoke different languages and also had different cultures,
or even impelled to settle for the condition of tenant farmers
[648] or colonos on private fazendas. Official aid on the part of the
[797] Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, as well as the activities of
missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, also operated in different
degrees of intensity and continuity and in various ways from
group to group, giving rise to variants of great explicative
121 interest. Thus, their study showed in what way the various
177 forces of compulsion that affected the process of the integration

/10 cont./
121 of the Terêna into the regional society acted on the uniform
177 base represented by the tribal culture.

114 Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira did not have an easy job,
121 because /11/ there are not many studies of this type to serve
177 as precedents and, also, because these Indians have lived for
two centuries in such close connection with the regional society
that they have undergone all the vicissitudes of the latter's
formation and settlement in the region, and they naturally
present, in their way of life, many characteristics that can only
be explained by the specific experiences that befell them by
virtue of this connection. In these circumstances, contrary to
traditional ethnological study, which does not deal with
historical analysis, the author here had to cope with the task
of reconstituting the living process whereby the Terêna Indians
got to be what they now are, so as to distinguish what is due to
tribal culture from what is due to contact situations in their
process of integration into the national society.

121 In his study we follow the various Guaná groups, including
177 the Terêna, as they leave the maze of the Chaco tribes, deeply
[101] influenced by them, especially by their suzerains, the Mbayá-
Guaikuru, but retaining many characteristics of the ancient
Aruak, such as devotion to agriculture, which years of co-
existence with peoples of rudimentary economy did not diminish.

● [648] Next we watch them free themselves from Mbaya
suzerainty, only to fall into a much more oppressive subordina-
tion to the neo-Brazilians who were settling in the region in the
[464] early years of the 19th century. Since then they have partici-
[162] pated ever more actively in the life of the national society,
as the labor force that built nearly all that has been achieved
in the region and as the chief native matrix in the population
of southern Mato Grosso.

177 This role was played chiefly by the Terêna woman.
562 Taken as wife or mistress by the first settlers, she gave them
563 children who, in the majority of cases, identified to such an ex-
tent with the white father that they forgot their tribal origin.

Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

G C 101 175 /19 cont./

the present century, we might note the Kinikinâu (Guaná) and the Ofaiê-Xavante. The
G 175 [261] [648] [162]
former still maintained an aldea by the Agaxi River, from which they dispersed, expelled from their lands by a civilizado who supposedly purchased them from the state of Mato Grosso; its remaining members are found today in some Terêna
C 161 [361]
aldeas. Of the latter, some survivors (10 persons) were encountered in 1948 by Darcy Ribeiro, who describes them as a group of individuals wandering through the region, without fixed abode and without purpose, at the mercy of the availability of work on neighboring fazendas: "... this is a tribe that still numbered one thousand persons at the beginning of the century and is, today, reduced to this group and, possibly, to some two others in the same circumstances." (Cf. Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:107.)

G. Ki M 161
Nevertheless, in contrast to the Kadiwéu and to a greater extent than the Kaiwá, the Terêna population has been increasing appreciably, a phenomenon that characterizes them as one of the few indigenous populations in Brazilian territory with a /20/ favorable demographic index (4). It should also

Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11

G
Gi /20 cont./
M
161

4. The last estimates of the S. P. I. gives the Kaiwá with about 2,500 individuals and the Kadiwéu with barely 200, whereas the Terêna population has been increasing steadily and now numbers approximately 4,000 individuals. (Taking into account here only the Indians living in aldeas on native reserves.)

G
Gi
M
[162]

G
It should also
464 be added that this group has a certain importance on the [463] regional labor market, where its members exercise the most varied productive activities, from the extraction of the bark of the angico--which they do with great skill--to herding and, G [177] chiefly, farming. This demographic density, along with the demonstrated ability to adjust to the most diverse sociocultural situations, confers on the Terêna the role of rural laborers par excellence, which has assured them a place in the regional economic structure.

G
464
648
[101]
The Terêna thus represent one of the Guaná or Txané subgroups which, along with other tribes of this large Aruák group, appear as those Indians who contributed most to the formation of the Brazilian Southwest, both as producers of goods for the consumption of the first Portuguese and neo-Brazilian occupants of the region and as industrious manual labor on the fazendas that began to proliferate after the Paraguayan war, not to overlook the role they played in that conflict, when they were led to fight the Paraguayan army.

G
114
177
Located in an area which has for some time been integrated into the national economy and which has for centuries been contended for by the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Paraguayans and the Brazilians, it is natural that the

/22 cont./

175 19th century, /23/ only Castelnau and Bach can be regarded as good sources of ethnographic data, and this limits to an extraordinary degree the possibilities of /achieving/ a historical reconstruction of the traditional culture on the basis of the bibliographic sources. (7)

> 7. In a previous work (1957:175-176) we dealt with the consistency of the primary 18th-century and 19th-century sources in so far as the recording of interethnic and intertribal contact situations is concerned, taking the Guaná as a whole; it now remained to give an idea of the content of the sources, in so far as their usefulness for the ethnological study of the Terêna properly speaking is concerned.

114 The ethnologically valuable bibliography in our century opens with Max Schmidt's study (1901) of a group of remaining Guaná close to the city of Cuiabá; a linguistic work, with a fine introduction on the history of those groups, with a good use [illegible] of the bibliography available at the time. There follow the reports of the Rondon Commission (from 1904 on) and of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios (from 1915 on), which are invaluable for an understanding of these Indians at the beginning of an entirely new situation characterized by the establishment [797] of a policy of protection. The second decade of this century is marked by the presence of the Protestant missionary, Alexander Rattray-Hay (1917-20) among the Terêna (of Bananal); his ethnological information--although not scientifically controlled--are of considerable help to us in understanding the native culture and the more immediate results of a religious proselytism in competition with the official protectionist policy.

/26 cont./

101
174 this table and the addition of data from other chroniclers not consulted by its author, we can infer that at best four Guaná subgroups crossed the Paraguay River to its eastern bank, where they survived (not all of them, as we shall see later) until our century. The tribes were: Terêna, Layana, Kinikinâu and Exoaladi /Echoaladi/, the latter also being known as "Guanás," which led to some confusion since this name coincided with the Guaná subgroups as a whole. (16) A /

101 16. The distinction made by Sanches Labrador between the tribal designations and the names attributed to the Aruák groups by the Guaikurú, permits us to set up the following table:

Tribal self-designation	Guaikurú name
"Chanás"	"Layânas" (Niyololas)
"Terêna"	"Etelena"
"Choarana"	"Echoaladi"
"Quainoconas"	"Equini Quinau"

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● 648 This table shows that "Echoaladi" is a Mbayá-Guaikurú word by which--owing to the enormous Guaikurú influence throughout the area--the "Choarana" seem to have been known in the 18th century (Labrador, Azara, and Aguirre).

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[648] Already in the following century, the Guaikurú hegemony decreased, and the remaining "Choarana" seem to have been called also by the generic name "Guanás"; the names "Chooronós" and "Chualas," which are added to the

/27 cont./

114 reader to the already mentioned work by Alfred Metraux in
[113] the *Handbook of South American Indians* for a retrospective
view of the configuration of those groups while still in the
125 Chaco. Now it is important to note only the following: the
161 Exoaladi disappeared /28/ at the time of the Paraguayan
war; (21) in relation to the Layâna and the Kinikínau--who
by this time numbered, respectively, 300 and 1,000 individuals, (22) at the present time--as we have already
emphasized--not a single community of them is recorded,
there being only a small number of survivors scattered through
Terêna *aldeas*.

As for the Terêna, we see a different configuration.
[167] The Terêna population that settled in the Miranda region, at

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[113] 21. *Atas Cuiabanas* /Mato Grosso Records/, Arquivo da Diretoria dos indios, Ch. 14, in Karl von den Steinen, ● [240] [167] 1940:694; in a footnote, we read that these Indians (designated by the name "Guanás") "were taken by the Paraguayans to Asunción, where they all died."

22. *Atas Cuiabanas, ibid.*; see also Leverger, 1862:222, who estimates that there were 800 Kinikinâu in 1847, while the above-mentioned *Atas* reckon for the same period (1848) 200 additional Kinikinâu, that is, one thousand altogether.

/28 cont./

175 161 [162] the close of the 18th century, numbered about 3,000 individuals according to Azara's record.(23) In the middle of the last century, Castelnau(24) and Taunay (25) noted the same number as representative of the regional Terêna population. 161 Today 162 the latest estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios gives 3,800 individuals as the total of the Terêna aldeas. But if we were to compute the innumerable families scattered through the fazendas of the region, and even in the cities, this number 161 might rise to 4,500 or 5,000. As will readily be seen, the Terêna not only managed to maintain a relative demographic stability--which would in itself have been highly promising, in view of the Brazilian indigenous picture--, but even managed to increase in number and steadily continue in this direction.

23. 1809, II:86-88.

24. 1949:302.

25. 1948:267.

/29/ II. The Nature of Intertribal Interaction

121 648 [175] It is not possible to understand the culture of the Guaná groups without considering the relations that were established between them and the Mbayá-Guaikurú groups. Even in a brief account of the traditional culture of the Terêna, it is necessary to bear this aspect in mind, along with the problem encountered by the researcher in reconstructing the tribal culture, since the information left by the chroniclers--as we already had the occasion to mention in the preceding chapter-- [101] are quite fragmentary. This is the reason why we shall deal

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121 in this chapter, and the following one, with the Guaná as a
148 whole, mentioning the Terêna and the other subtribes to the
101 extent permitted by the texts.

175 241 The first information available on the Guaná (26) show
us these Indians as possessors of a well-developed agriculture,
as proved by the following passage from Schmidel: "...along
this path we found nothing but plots planted with maize, roots,
and other fruits, so that throughout the year there is food to be
had from the cultivated field. When one plot is harvested,
another is already maturing, and when this is mature, a third
has already been planted, in order to have throughout the year
175 148 fresh food in the plots and in the houses." (27) Already by this
time, coming into the first half of the 16th century, the Guaná
were bound to the Mbayá-Guaikurú, in a subordinate position,
as attested by /30/ another statement by Schmidel, according
to which the Guaná were "vassals or subjects of the Mbayá, in
the same manner as among us peasants are subjected to their
seigniors." (28)

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26. This statement refers to the year 1548; nevertheless, there are also data relating to 1543, supplied by D. Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, which may be regarded as the first on the Guaná, although they are much poorer than those supplied by Schmidel. Cf. Cabeça de Vaca, 1946:205; 1837:319.

27. 1944:110; cf. also 1837:203.

28. Ibidem.

/30 cont./

175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

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29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikinâu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

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128 would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

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140 The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97. --The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups.--For a discussion of the concept, see

G M 175 648 M [651] Sanches Labrador, then, tries to explain the causes of this subjection: /31/ "...the Guaycurus have, on both banks of the Paraguay River, servants or people who pay tribute, who have been making them small offerings for some time. In so far as I was able to inquire about the origin of their right over the Niyololas, as they call the whole nation, it is all based on kinship, without their having obtained this power through arms

G [582] [562] [622] or conquest...." (31) And elsewhere he writes: "Some Eyguayeguis (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe--RCO) caciques or

G [566] captains married according to their fashion Guaná women caciques or captains. The latter's vassals, when these women died, remained in a permanent feudal relation to the descendants of their mistresses' husbands." (32)

Let it be added further that this vassalage was owed to a few Guaikurú and not to the entire group, as might appear at first glance. The chronicler thus says: "It so happened that the Eyiguayeguis caciques who married the Niyolola women caciques or captains, held their wives' vassals as their own; since then they have regarded them as such." (33) And be it said in passing that it is not made very clear whether these vassals were actually Guaná--and in this case differentiated from

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G 175 648 [114] /30 cont./

Florestan Fernandes, 1952:248-272; in his footnotes, this author provides a selected bibliography.

31. 1910, II:266.

32. Idem., I:267.

33. Labrador, II:266-267.

G /31 cont. /
M 175 their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--
648 or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko.
[201] "Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone
M have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights
565 over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques
648 175 and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation
and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our
G M brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the

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34. Idem:267.

G offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their
[286] servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake
of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a
cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which
M the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not
[565] offered such presents, even though they are provided with food
[574] during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends
and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem: 267-268.

G 175 To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in
648 the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand
the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the
17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to
G their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed
[439] knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could
supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese.(36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

A 174 Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max
648 Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák, (37)

[text continues on p. 33]

Arawakan Indians SRL

A /32 cont./
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37. "Worthy of note in the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, through colonization is the fact that it has nothing to do with political power, being based on a purely economic-administrative foundation.... We thus find an automatic explanation, in this type of colonization, for the extraordinary phenomenon that political power is not found in the hands of the Aruáque men in various South American regions, in spite of the obvious predominance of their culture and their economic-administrative system."

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And in a footnote (no. 165) the author adds: "...this also occurs among the Guanás, who formerly lived in Mbayá territory, so that they appeared partly as allies, partly as vassals and people under the protection of the Mbayás."

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--"In such cases," warns Max Schmidt, "we must not conclude at the outset that we are dealing with a later subjugation of Aruáque tribes by other groups, as so many tend to do. Only where such a domination by means of force is proved by definite historical facts must it be taken into account. In all other cases, to judge by the spirit

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A 174 648 of the expansion of the Aruáque cultures, it is more logical to admit that political power never lay in their hands." (Cf. 1917, Ch. 4.)

A 174 648 according to which these tribes, when they establish relations with the populations of neighboring tribal groups, manage these relations in such a way as to lead to a condition of economic dependency.

G M 175 648 Let it be emphasized, therefore, that the information left us by 18th-century chroniclers are very important because they reveal, in our opinion, actual contact situations between the Guaikurú and the Guaná. They prove a Mbayá-Guaikurú hegemony that already existed in pre-Colombian times, probably immediately following the settlement of those Aruák groups in the Chaco. M 175 648 [177] [492] If there already existed a certain military superiority on the part of the Guaikurú over the Guaná and other Chaco groups, this became more pronounced when those Indians adopted the horse and changed it into a weapon of war, already in the times of the Spanish conquest. Once this superiority had been established and made concrete, it does not seem correct to state that it must have acquired identical characteristics in relation to all Chaco groups, indiscriminately. M [201] With the exception of the other Guaikurú groups, such as the Payaguá, or groups such as the Mokovi, Abipon, and Toba, it was the Txikíto, the Guaxi /Guachi/, the Guató, and especially the Txamakôko, the most frequently attacked tribes, which, when vanquished, saw their /33/ members G [175] [648] made into captives.(38) Meanwhile, the Guaná groups were

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38. We use this term in its most general sense, keeping all the variations that might exist in the relations of dependency of captured

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Indians. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, in 1791, writes in a letter addressed to the Governor of the Province, João Albuquerque de Mello Pereira e Cáceres, the following: "With them (the Guaikurú) are allied the Guanãas; the Payaguás, out of the fear they have of them, take great care not to lose their friendship. All the others are their daily prey, whom they reduce to slavery." (Ms.)

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treated as independent communities, with their own territory and chiefs; which did not preclude the fact, however, that Guaná families were found among the Guaikurú themselves, who in the latter's aldeas, voluntarily or as the result of some intertribal conflict, had been led to be enlisted in the way of life of that seignorial group. (39)

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39. Herbert Baldus, in his timely and penetrating introduction to the Brazilian version of Boggiani's Os Caduveo /The Caduveo/, analyzes and classifies Guaikurú-Guaná relations as being of the symbiotic type, which seems to us to be true and for the documentation of which theory this chapter has been written.

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Thus, Baldus writes: "This symbiosis continued side by side with stratification and must not be regarded in any way as first steps of it. Although sometimes

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> some Guaná joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guaná who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guaná's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

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Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guaná. (40)

> 40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guaná acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbayá-Guaikurú subtribe).... The Kaduveo-Guaná relationship cannot be characterized without

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> further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guaná, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guaná for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

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There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaegui captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio

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that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling."(41) And even in those

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cases where Guaná populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaladi--settled near the Albuquerque

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41. Labrador, 1910, II:267.

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fort, the Guaná maintained a special position--as can be seen from this statement by Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra: "These 600 Guaná are those who live by themselves, settled in aldeas and united into one group in the said Albuquerque ranges; and even though they are thus separate from the Uaicurús, they live ever bound to them, and sharing their lot. Some pass into the Uaicurú group, and the children that are born among them become like them (i.e., like Guaikurú--RCO)." (42) The

42. 1845:209.

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chronicler shows, in the first place, the independence of the Guaná local group; in the second place, the occurrence of movements on the part of some Guaná members to Guaikurú communities, into which they end up perfectly integrated, as we can see from this other passage: "The pride and competitiveness of the Uaicurús is such, that it is instilled into the Guanás themselves as soon as they go to live with, or are born amongst, the arrogant Uaicurús, treating others with contempt, and general superiority..." (43) And as for those Guaná, already

43. *Ibidem*.

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mentioned, who remained close to the Guaikurú but without giving up their community, here is a further observation by Almeida Serra as he tries to draw a comparison between the captives taken by the Guaikurú and the Guaná: "The captives eventually do not scorn this system (the favorable circumstances they enjoyed among the Guaikurú--RCO), but like it; only the Guaná who live apart and by themselves, and in their own ranchos and outside the Uaicurú villages, after further communication with the Portuguese, are ashamed of it...." when called "captives" by the Portuguese. (44) /35/ It is plain that,

44. 1850:372.

G /35 cont./ It is plain that
175 in spite of the fact that the Guaná group in question was in a
182 marked state of disorganization, its members still kept relative
619 independence as a group.

G On the other hand, we must also take into account the
175 existence of marked differences of a cultural order among the
184 Guaná subgroups, differences which were evidently due to
181 historico-social contingencies specific to each tribe in par-
148 ticular. The character or "bent" /índole/--to use an expression common among the chroniclers--of each Guaná group would have been to some degree responsible for the greater or lesser degree of their closeness to their Guaikurú allies and neighbors. This explains, in all probability, the more reserved attitude of the Terêna, not only in relation to the "whites" but also in relation to other tribal groups. About them no situation is known similar to those experienced by certain tribes such as the Exoaladi or the Kinikinâu.

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175 Regarding the former--the Exoaladi, already referred to
184 above, in passages from Almeida Serra--, Labrador attests to
181 their more bellicose characteristics than the others, when he says that they "are considered the most barbarous and restless
G in the entire nation."(45) And that this Guaná subtribe--Azara
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648 45. 1910, II:256.
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563 adds--already in the mid-18th century was "incorporated with the Mbayá and lived with them east of the Paraguay River, on
G hills situated near the 21° parallel."(46) But even here, in a
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648 46. 1809, II:88; cf. 1943:133.
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case of union between two distinct tribal groups, leadership in the new community of interests did not fail to obey the same
M rules recorded by the chroniclers. This may be deduced from
[563] this other passage from Labrador: "There were many wild
[622] Echoaladi Indians, who were feudatories of Caminigo (a
Guaikurú cacique--RCO).

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175 /35 cont./
648 Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's
[571] /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)
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47. 1910, I:25.

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[131] Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guaná group that had joined with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikinâu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe
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[563] of the Equiniquinao...is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbayá."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;
cf. 1943:132-133.

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In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikinâu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbayá language, certain that he was taking down Kinikinâu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

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49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311. In this book the author regards the Kinikinâu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layâna words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikinâu individuals who spoke the Mbayá language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quiniquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin!"

000 /36 cont./

are also known as Guaycurys,
a name that plainly reveals
their origin."

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175 This shows the intensity of the process
648 of intertribal acculturation, which determines the prevalence
563 of the Mbayá language throughout the area of Guaikurú in-
197 fluence. In this acculturation area the same process seems to
G 175 be at work as occurred in other areas, such as those of Tupi
177 or Tucano influence--to cite two of the most representative
M of this socio-cultural phenomenon--where it was known as a
G [171] process of Tupinization or Tucanization, respectively.

G It so happens, however, that the Guaná-Guaikurú inter-
M tribal relations did not always proceed in the same fashion or
175 develop along the same lines. There were times when some
● 648 Guaná groups had serious conflicts with the Mbayá-Guaikurú.
M 721 According to Almeida Serra, "the Uaicurus, ever wanderers, and
[181] ever atrociously warlike, trusting in their horses, and aware of
G their full power and superiority over the other nations that did
[712] not have them, kept scourging the Guanás in a war of daily
ambushes, and untimely attacks, not on their aldeas, which
are always surrounded with palisades, but rather by devastating
their plantings, and awaiting them in their plots, or on their
way to and from them; or in the open, killing and capturing
G M those they caught unaware, and in smaller numbers. These
175 injuries and damages obliged the Guaná to ask for peace and to
728 allow themselves to be called their captives, giving them
voluntarily part of their crops, to save the rest, and the deaths
they suffered each year."(50) And thus, the Guaná, "in spite

50. 1845:208.

of having a larger number of men than the Uaicurús, found
themselves compelled, for their own preservation, to purchase
peace and the friendship of their oppressors."(51)

51. Ibidem.

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M The occurrence of these struggles, which recurred until
175 the end of the 18th century, and thus up to the moment of the
648 beginning of the Guaná migrations, shows that the Guaikurú
M technique of contracting marriage with Guaná female caciques
721 had no other end than to facilitate the domination of one group
563 over the other, and thus lend legal sanction to the Guaikurú
[581] hegemony. Actually there was no total plundering of Guaná goods, whether material or even psychological, i.e., in terms of rights, as occurred in the relations of the Guaikurú with other neighboring tribal groups. The Guaná were too numerous and, especially, useful, to serve as suppliers of certain consumer goods necessary to the Mbayá-Guaikurú community. It would not have been wise to destroy them, in a war without respite, such as they waged on the Guaxi, Guató, and Txamakôko. With these, the technique was to kill the men and most of the women, and to adopt the children. If the same policy had been carried out with the Guaná, they would have lost the best agriculturalists in the entire region and, in addition, the allies best equipped to maintain the Guaikurú supremacy
G throughout the Paraguay basin.

M We regard as quite objective the opinion of D. Juan
175 Aguirre when he tries to find the cause that gave rise to Guaná
648 subjection: "According to the best informants I could get,"
571 he says, "the custom of the service of the Guanás began after the peace of the Mbayá. The latter lived along the former's way in the Province, and as they came, worked, and took along implements with which they progressed and also traded with the other Indians, the Mbayás began to charge them for the right of way; they paid them, and in this way, since only a few came and went, they were subjected to the open superiority of the Mbayás whom they truly respect and serve with a submission to which we can bear witness."(52) Even if--as seems

52. 1898:472.

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very probable--we regard those Guaná as an Exoaladi or Layâna subgroup, and not the whole of the Guaná tribes, we would have to agree that undoubtedly this was one of the forms that the association between the two groups assumed. And, on the other hand, the sources consulted do not permit the unequivocal selection of any one of the hypotheses propounded here as to the cause of this peculiar submission of a sedentary, agricultural group to a nomadic, hunting, and gathering one. Rather than being mutually exclusive, we believe that these /hypotheses/ reflect different aspects of the same process of ecological competition /38/ and tribal interaction: explanations based on (i) marriages of caciques, or (ii) Guaikurú attack on members of Guaná local groups, or yet (iii) the control of paths of communication with other population groups that were necessary to Guaná trade, all these events already analyzed above are facts that express the vicissitudes experienced by the Guaná in their effort to adjust to an adverse conjuncture.

It is well to conclude this chapter--in which we try to characterize the process of Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal interaction--with this impression of Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira, when he met those groups at the close of the 18th century: "There is little difference between (the Guaná--RCO) and the Guaikurús, whose neighbors, friends, and allies they are. They intermarry and render reciprocal assistance, whenever required by some general or private need."(53) Thus this close inter-

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53. 1791:4.

action--which we might classify as symbiotic(54)--to some

54. "Relations are symbiotic if the agents view each other largely from the stand point of their usefulness, with a minimum concern for fair play

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> and adherence to norms."
> E.T. Hiller, 1947:151.
> /Cited in English./

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extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

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Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

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Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

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55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/43 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 result in a condition of dependency." (Max Schmidt, 1917, Ch. III.)

177 178 565 This ethnic stratification must have been succeeded by a social stratification, which seems to have resulted from contact with Chaco groups, especially the Mbayá-Guaikurú. No matter what its origin may have been, the fact is that this social stratification became an element of dynamization of the original structure.

[648] We can raise the hypothesis that as a result of the symbiotic character of Guaná-Mbayá relations, the relatives of the Guaná caciques may have endeavored to adopt the behavior patterns of their Mbayá-Guaikurú allies, because these patterns were expressions of a higher "status." The Mbayá-Guaikurú not being tillers of the soil--but rather gatherers and hunters and, lately, herders--, they left to their captives the agricultural work which contributed to the stigmatization of farm work, the foundation on which Guaná society rested. And let it be said that this stigmatization is fully documented in the chronicle on those Indians. Furthermore, our hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the existence of certain modalities of conduct that live on in the Terêna communities of a more archaic character. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we observed that the women from traditional families, i.e., those remaining from the old local group, do not approve of women working on the land, a fact which is "sui generis" since it is regarded as a commonplace in Aruák cultures that the woman should assist the man in agricultural work: on him devolve the felling of the forest and clearing of the land, and on her the /44/ planting, upkeep, and harvest. (67) The division of labor

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67. Among the western Txané who live in a symbiotic relationship with the Xiriguano, also an agricultural (Tupi) people, the

/44 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

171 462 177 division of labor between the sexes seems to have kept its traditional character, showing that there has been a change in the system of production and labor of the Guaná owing to the process of acculturation with the Mbayá-Guaikurú. Consult Erland Nordenskiold (1912:159) who gives a table showing the division of labor between men and women among the Txané and Xiriguano.

462 773 The division of labor among the Guaná, which besides is rationalized and legalized in the myth of the two civilizing twin heroes, would seem to have been somewhat different. In this respect Altenfelder comments that "the division of labor seems to be justified in the creation myth, in which Yurikoyuvakai, the twin heroes, give to men the implements of agricultural labor and the 462 weapons of war, and to women the spindle. The clearing of land plots and the cultivation of the land were masculine tasks. Warfare, hunting, fishing, and basket-weaving also fell to the men. The women's tasks were spinning, pottery-making, and household chores. The harvest was gathered by both [177] sexes." (68) It is certain that these patterns were strongly disturbed and tend to disappear in the acculturation process through which the Terêna groups are passing and of their integration into the regional socio-economic structure. 177 178 648 462 565 But the existence of such patterns shows that at a certain moment in the history of their relations with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, probably

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68. 1949:294-295.

/44 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

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during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was

69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

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70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

601 587 178 [114] "Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

[121] it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly
178 difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally,
621 to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular
[582] contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan
[648] war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas
[166] were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the
595 old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form.
591 Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been
178 matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward
128 bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

771 For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers
[175] /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information
[776] from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

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79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.

81. Idem: 248.

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IV. History of Interethnic Relations

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At the end of the 18th century, when the Guanã groups moved to the eastern bank of the Paraguay River, the southern region of Mato Grosso was beginning to be invaded by a pastoral wave that was formed between the Paranaíba River and the Rio Grande, in the place known today as the Triângulo Mineiro. This might be termed the first wave of actual occupation of the lands of the Brazilian southwest. Up to that time, only bandeiras /armed bands for hunting Indians of the 17th century/ had penetrated into that territory, either to seize Indians or to cross the region on the way to the legendary Inca empire. (97)

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97. "In the beginning of the 18th century there was an increase in the incursions of the Paulistas /men from São Paulo/ into the southern lands of Mato Grosso, where they searched the area between the upper Parana and Paraguay /rivers/ for metals, since capturable Indians were already relatively scarce in the region." (Mario Monteiro de Almeida, 1951:60.)

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The occupation of this area by the bandeirantes /members of bandeiras/ never had a civilizing purpose, i.e., the bandeirantes never settled there in order to develop a productive activity; and while on the one hand, as shown by the writer Mario Monteiro de Almeida, (98) they carried the frontier of Brazil to the

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98. "For many years the Paulistas remained in the campos of Vacaria and Xeres. There, in those campos,

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the members of one bandeira headed by Salvador Moreira, founded an encampment and set up farming for sustenance. Around 1660, Braz Moreira, brother of that bandeira chief, rebelled, along with some men from Sorocaba, and punishment was called for. A deposition dated July 28 of that year was drawn against the rebel for insubordination, at the encampment itself. The incident, documented by the scribe Antônio Alvares Maciel, shows, for the historic record, the fact of the effective possession of the Vacaria glebes by the bandeirantes (the italics are ours). In the foothill region of Mbotetei (Miranda), Pascoal Moreira and André Zuniga, in the course of three lustrums, between 1678 and 1695, had held their own in their stockaded campos, with their fleet of canoes engaged in the traffic of /Indian/ captives. The Portuguese 'uti-possidetis' was being secured on these glebes." (Op. cit., p. 49.)

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Paraguay basin, on the other hand they did serious injury to the indigenous populations. In the struggle that ensued between the "Paulistas" and the Jesuits /58/ and Spaniards for the expansion of their empires, the Indian got the worst of it: drawn

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into every camp, often fighting fellow Indians, he was the most despoiled, of his goods, his lands, his people. The pastoral wave, however, came to attend to more productive occupation, although it also represented a constant threat to the tribal groups that stood in its way.

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Let it be clear that we are speaking of a specific pastoral wave, national in character, and representing the natural expansion of the neo-Brazilian society. There is no doubt that the area formed by the tributaries of the left bank of the Paraguay (even where it is today Brazilian territory) was partially occupied by livestock, chiefly "baguá" livestock, the same variety of cows and horses the first heads of which were brought by D. Alvar Nunes Cabeça de Vaca in 1543; and the inroads to which they were subjected by sorties of the Guaikurú provoked the Spaniards, who were virtual owners of those herds, (99) to make minced meat of them.

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(99) Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra tells us the scope of the slaughter carried out by the Spaniards among the Guaikurú. The chronicler tells us that from 1793 up to 1803, the date when he was writing, the Guaikurú created havoc in proportion to the Spaniards' advance with their fazendas, pushing them back or even destroying them and coming into possession of 20,000 horses, some cows, etc. The Spaniards then organized two slaughtering expeditions in 1796, killing the famous Guaikurú "captain," Queimá, ten other "captains," and 300 Indians; in 1797, another even larger /expedition/

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conditions favorable to settling with the idea of setting up "latifundia."(102) It seems that /60/ the most convenient technique consisted in the setting up of more or less improvised retiros /isolated ranchos/ in an attempt to cope with the mobility and unpredictability of a herd ever in search of new and better pastures.

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It was with the arrival of a second human wave that the Guaná region, especially the area between the Miranda and Aquidauana rivers, came to hold a considerably augmented population. As shown by Werneck Sodré,(103) it was with the

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102. Here is the testimony of João Henrique Elliot, who passed through the region in 1844: "All the land from here (Miranda fort) to the Maracaju range, over a distance of 24 leagues, is a continuous plain of clear campo, with a few thickets of brush; there is an enormous quantity of deer and rhea birds, but for the present there are few dwellers." (1848:168.)

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103. "The war ended, and ended on the western borders, in the theater of Cerro-Corá, with the last episode on the banks of the Aquidabã, the province had in its territory appreciable companies of soldiers regimented for its defense, who had . . .

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> been used in the retaking of Corumbá, the former Albuquerque, and in mopping up the territory previously invaded by enemy forces. Many of these elements were made up of people who had come from other parts of Brazil, in battalions formed in other provinces.--The fighting over, demobilization began. And the demobilization had the interesting consequence of contributing to the settlement, in the western lands, of the elements who had ranged over it in the service of war. When the job of delimiting boundaries was over, appreciable groups of former soldiers just stayed there." (Op. cit., p. 101.)

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close of the Paraguayan war and, therefore, after 1869, that a considerable portion of the Brazilian army, demobilized in those parts, chose to remain there instead of returning to their places of origin. That author indicates that these elements, in great part, came from the northeast and from Bahia, from places where the rural populations were characterized by constant migration. And, while these contingents of demobilized soldiers began to occupy the region with typical fazendas, we must also note the penetration of Paraguayan elements, who, when the fighting was over, in large numbers began to enter a territory of richer economic prospects and where they could get better positions than a wasted and fallen Paraguay could offer.

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offer.(104) As we shall see further on, more than the war itself,

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104. "Exhausted by the effort spent, which was tremendous, and wasted by the consequences of a struggle in which it had been totally involved, Paraguay was to begin the infiltration of their elements into the western lands. Everything contributed to this end. These belonged to them in their own eyes. They had ranged over them in the past. They were familiar with them. The separation by the boundaries, definitively established, along the Maracaju range and the waters of the Apa, as a continuation of those of the Paraguay, was not a serious hindrance." (Ibid.) And the author writes farther on: "Quebracho, maté, and livestock were the three propelling spurs to the human expansion in southern Mato Grosso, an expansion directed from Paraguay." (Idem., p. 106.) Moreover, it is the existence of this infiltration that will enable us to understand the great Paraguayan influence on the regional indigenous and neo-Brazilian customs.

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it was this second human /61/ wave which, as its consequence, was to adjust to the Guaná groups and, especially, the Terêna,

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a new situation with dramatic consequences for them, considering it determined the enlistment of these populations into a slave-oriented economy. The modern Terêna refer to this period as the "time of captivity."(105)

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> 105. This situation of captivity lasted until the beginning of this century, when in 1904 Rondon, building the Telegraphic and Strategic Lines, passed through there and compelled the liberation of those Indians--many of whom worked on the building of the line--a liberation consummated with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios in 1910 (cf. Missão Rondon, 1949:82-83).

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The third human wave and, we can say, contemporary one, began with the connecting of São Paulo-Pôrto Esperança through the Noroeste do Brasil railroad (NOB). Its construction, begun in 1905 in Bauru, and in 1908 in Pôrto Esperança, was only completed in 1914, when the tracks from west and east met.(106) The possibilities for the economic development of the region increased considerably and began with this to attract ever larger human contingents. And, while it is true that the progress brought by the railroad to the northwest of São Paulo state was never comparable to that brought to the lands of

> 106. Cf. Fernando de Azevedo, 1950:127-128.

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had, did not come to present radical change during the first three centuries.

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Suffice it to conclude, for now, that that influence was felt much more through the other Guaná subgroups--such as the Layâna and the Exoaladi--, filtered through these, than through direct contact of the missionaries with Terêna communities: chroniclers give an exhaustive account of the intensity of the contact of those two subgroups not only with missionaries but, especially, with the regional population which did not always distinguish between them but frequently identified them by the generic name "Guanás." (117)

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117. The only reference we know on missionary work in relation to another Guaná group is Taunay's (1863-64) on the Kinikináu: "The model aldea on the Lower Paraguay was unquestionably that of Matto Grande or Bom Sucesso, near Albuquerque, where the Kinikináus, under the paternal and intelligent direction of the most righteous missionary, Frei Mariano de Bagnania, displayed the precious fruits of inspired catechizing." (1931:19-21.)

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/65/ This neo-Brazilian population, although still very scarce before the war with Paraguay, already maintained relations of an economic order with the Guaná--and rather important ones, to judge by the information left us by Elliot, Leverger, and Alves Ferreira.

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175 648 184 Leverger, and Alves Ferreira. The three testimonies all date back to the decade of the forties, in the 19th century, and show us the Layâna, the Exoaladi ("Guanás"), and the Kinikináu playing a much more decisive role in the regional economy, unlike the Terêna, who were apparently more isolated and, perhaps, on this account, more aloof. While [427] [439] they show the Layâna living as tenant farmers /agregados/ on the neighboring fazendas (118) and the "Guanás" (119) and the Kinikináu (120) supplying provisions to the neo-Brazilian

118. "The Laianas live as agregados /tenant farmers/ or camaradas /farm hands/ on the neighboring fazendas; aside from these there are some Guaicurus and Guachins." (Elliot, 1870:172.)

[433] 119. "Their (the 'Guanás') crops are not only sufficient for their own consumption, but a surplus is left to them which they sell for cash or barter...." (1870:83.) [464] Also "many of them hire themselves out for services of all sorts in various parts of the Province, and especially for river navigation." (Ibid.) Which thus shows a participation on the "Guanás" part in the regional labor market.

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175 648 population, they leave out the Terêna from any more definite
184 role in the regional trade.

439 It is difficult to define the degree of these contacts be-
177 tween Indians and "civilizados"--whether in relations of the
184 catechizing type or of the trading type--but on the other hand
we can infer with relative certainty the greater or lesser in-
tensity /of the contact/ maintained by the above-mentioned
Guaná subgroups, comparatively, with the regional population.
The greater contact maintained by some of the groups than by
others with the national society or with the missions leads us
to regard the Terêna as those Indians who were most averse to
contact, followed by the Kinikinău, and, lastly--among the
groups that crossed the Paraguay River--, by the Exoaladi
("Guanas") and the Layâna.

175 Let us take the episode of the Paraguayan war and analyze
648 the participation in this conflict of the Guaná groups. Taunay
184 --its chief chronicler--writes that the "Guanas, Kinikinâus,
167 and Laianos ultimately joined the fleeing population (of
Miranda, headed for the Maracaju /66/ mountain range); and
the Terenas isolated themselves and the Cadiuéus assumed an
attitude hostile to any white whatsoever, now attacking the
Paraguayans on the Apa line, now slaughtering entire families...
[361] at Bonito. The Kinikinâus were the first to climb the Maracaju
range, up the steeper side, and they settled on the beautiful
plain that tops that range...." (121)

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175 162 361 120. "The Quiquinâus,
more than 800 in number,
form an aldea in the afore-
said Mato Grande, three
leagues northwest of
241 Albuquerque. They engage
439 in farming and furnish this
part of our frontier with
manioc flour and beans."
(Leverger, 1862:222.)

121. 1948:268.

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175 plain that tops that range...." (121) Elsewhere, he says: "The
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121. 1948:268.

Guanás, Kinikináus, and Laianos showed their solidarity toward us; whereas the Terenas watched us furtively from afar." (122)

122. 1931:269.

As can be seen, here too, i.e., in the episode of the Paraguayan war, when all the regional population sought to unite to defend themselves against the common enemy (for the Paraguayans attacked them all), the Terêna continued to remain apart, seeking an isolation no longer possible. Only after some time, in a war that lasted five years, did the Terêna finally join the fleeing population and participate in the warfare. (123)

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123. "In the various encampments of the (Maracaju) range, large and comfortable ranchos were built, and little by little the way of life of those hybrid colônias of Brazilian civilizados and Indians, especially Kinikináus, who had been joined by Guanás, Terenas, and Laianos, became regularized. (Taunay, 1931:35; cf. also p. 33, on the participation of these Indians in the guerrilla warfare that was then underway.)

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175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of
the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 *heroic phase* of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an
awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we
were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the
Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha *aldea*, the principal themes of
which were *captivity* and the *Paraguayan war*; on this latter
theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had
fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[796] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[269] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as
All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the
month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades),
that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of
the dead; but such themes--including *captivity*--were not only
found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of
which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar
as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression
that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its
history. (124)

121 124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

G /67 cont./

121 Philosophy of the University of São Paulo formulates with great acuity the problems of the relationship between history and the awareness of history in "primitive groups."

G B 175 648 Another important episode in the history of the relations between the Terêna and our society was the passage of Rondon through the region where they were found distributed in a situation of extreme dependence on the neighboring big B [153] fazendeiros and "colonels." (125) At the head of the Telegraphic Lines Commission--whose task was to connect the capital with the southern regions of Mato Grosso--, Rondon also took note of the indigenous populations he encountered wherever he passed through installing telegraphic posts. G [34] Thus he observes while building the Miranda branch, "the line crossed right through the former Quiniquinau *aldea*, today G [162] abandoned and already invaded by *fazendeiros* who took over these lands." (126) Incidentally, this statement well shows how the Kinikináu had disappeared: as they were robbed of their lands, they dispersed through the fazendas or through the *aldeas* of their Terêna brethren. (127) And let it be emphasized with what difficulty the Terêna would have survived if their lands too--at least the lands they now occupy--, had been taken from them.

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125. Cf. note 105.

126. *Missão Rondon*, 1949:81.

127. Cf. note 108.

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taken from them. What is clear is that for a long time, even after the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the Terêna Reservations continued to be supervised by ex-members of the "Missão Rondon," who went on to integrate that service. While much land was lost, others were gained, such as the Buriti and Brejão aldeas, formed respectively in 1922 and 1904, and made into native reservations in 1928 and 1922.

If we analyze the situation in which the Guaná groups were, at the time /68/ of the passing through of the Rondon Commission--which corresponds to that cycle of colonization opened with the "settlement of the demobilized /soldiers/," we shall see how important the first measures taken by the commission and the later creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios proved to those Indians--specifically the Terêna, the only ones to benefit from the changes then begun. (128)

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128. "The colonial native policy," in force until the end of the 19th century, was concerned with the pacification of the tribal groups of that area, their enlistment in the fights with the Spaniards, or even their neutralization. Such a policy was based on the establishment of forts (such as Coimbra, Miranda, and Albuquerque) and on the encouragement of missionary work among these indigenous groups, with the purpose of "improving their disposition /índole/." But in spite of all the interest in transforming the Indians also into producers of consumer

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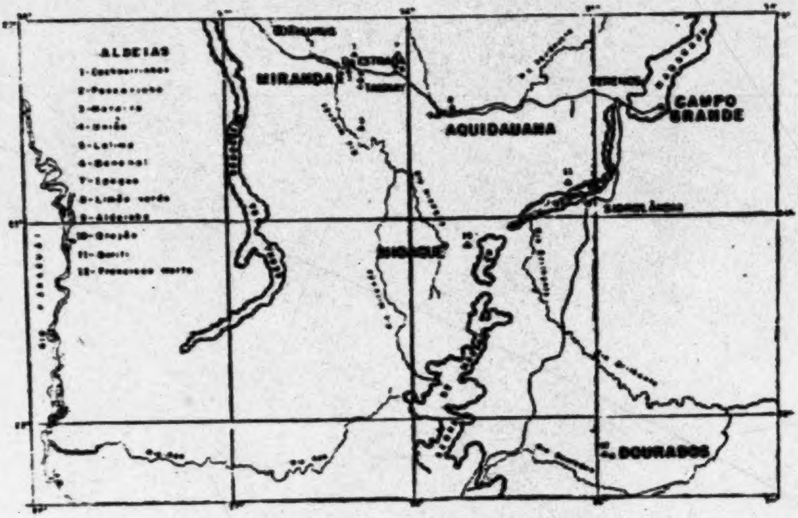

Map. 2. Distribution of the aldeas.
/See p. 103a for enlarged version of this map./

361 166 This was the configuration of the Terêna local groups at the time of the Paraguayan war. Between then and now, some of the aldeas disappeared, local groups moved, others were incorporated into more stable tribal communities. But the fact is that the Terêna population, in spite of having been /two plates appear here/ /73/ robbed of most of its territory or, probably, for this very reason, spread through a wide area and began to occupy small niches which were suitable for its settling, no matter in how precarious a fashion. 361 178 648 [657] Some of these places were made into native reservations by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, while others still await this step, without which the remaining local groups will not be able to withstand the encirclement and pressure of the regional society toward taking

[text continues on p. 104]

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361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
● 648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
[574]

Cachoeirinha

/74 cont./

162 161 And if we compare the successive censuses it has undergone since 1919, the date of the first we know of, we see that its population has steadily increased. In 1919 Cachoeirinha had 228 persons; in 1926, 436 individuals; in the following year, 1927, it recorded 503 persons, of which 72 had come from outside; 10 years later, in 1937, another increase was ascertained, giving Cachoerinha a population of 750 individuals; in 1941, the reports of the SPI give the same population which, from then onward, is seen increasing until

175 648 it reached the figure obtained in 1954. Before 1919, we can only point out a fact still remembered by those Indians: at the end of the last century, probably in 1890, the Terêna suffered the consequences of a guerrilla episode when two local political leaders opposed each other and, as a result of this fight, a series of raids and attacks on a fazenda close to the aldea (Fazenda Santana of Zózimo Filho--/75/ today Petrópolis fazenda) were attributed to the Terêna; from being accused, the Terêna went on to be debtors, when "Colonel" Zózimo demanded from them full payment for the "thefts" committed....

175 648 166 [466] Compelled to work without pay on the lands of Fazenda Santana, they rebelled and in large numbers left the aldea, taking refuge partly in Bananal, partly atop the Maracaju range. Our informants explained that these families did not return to Cachoeirinha and that the successive groups of people who came to swell the local group had originated primarily in Lalima and the Salobra fazenda, beyond the Miranda River.

361 621 [648] Cachoeirinha includes 2,260 hectares, measured and the boundaries set since 1905, by the Rondon Commission, and the definitive title was proclaimed in the following year. The Cachoeirinha Native Reservation--like the others, territory under federal jurisdiction--, has various clusters of dwellings, each of them reflecting a specific development of the com-

[622] munity. Thus we have, in the first place, the nucleus proper of the aldea, made up of the ranchos of the older families, among which the dwelling of the "Captain" of the aldea stands

[368] out. In this same nucleus we find the building of the native

/78 cont./ [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian. [162]

439 366 [491] The means of communication of these aldeas connect them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hardware and drinks. 648 439 366 The native post, located in Passarinho, has not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

[104] 141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/78 cont./

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being a federal deputy and "bolicheiro," he had obtained the post of "delegado de quarteirão" of the município of Miranda; it is said of him that it was common to find in his "bolicho" firearms taken at night from ill-advised people who went up the road with weapons; and as delegado, he did not hesitate to arrest and order a beating for those Indians who for one reason or another had a disagreement with him.

491 This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,
128 the latter being quite close to the União local group--which results in rather intensive contact between these three aldeas.

621 União is a special case. It originated in 1946, as the
578 result of a disagreement in Bananal aldea, (143) which led to
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143. For details on the matter, see pp. 121-122.

the departure of the two principal Protestant leaders of the community, who, with their families, went on to occupy a
[422 73-hectare lot which they had acquired. The son of the princi-
[292 pal leader, Patrício Lily or Wollily--the present leader of the small União community--, told us that on November 20 /79/ of that year, the families settled on those lands and there founded, months later, in 1947, the "Escola Evangélica União."
159 In 1948, the informant went to study at the "Instituto Bíblico Eduardo Lany" in Minas Gerais, where he remained for four years, three of them in the regular course to become an evangelist and one year devoted to a rural-teacher course.

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

/79 cont./
361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[262] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that
the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than
its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
● [648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three
aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socioeconomic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should
not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurû, Kinikinâu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwêu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
648

[Lalima]

/80 cont./

173 Rondon, at the time of the construction of the Mato Grosso
166 telegraphic lines, that the Indians, scattered through the
● 648 fazendas of the region, were called to occupy those lands,
whose ownership was guaranteed them by the Rondon
175 Mission. (144) While this report does not agree with the
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361
data we obtained from an examination of the archives of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, it cannot be said that they contradict them; they state that the Indians who make up Lalima aldea are "Guaykuru Indians, very similar to the Cadiueus not only in the language they speak but also in their customs, even though they have never had
[648] friendly relations with the same; they inhabit Lalima
aldea, which is nine leagues from Miranda, they live on

144. At that time, the aggressiveness and violence of the "fazendeiros" was felt more heavily by the native population. They burned the houses, and their farm plots were summarily destroyed. This was the situation found by Rondon in 1905 and which led him to take those attitudes referred to in the previous chapter.

[Lalima]

/80 cont./
175 *lands that were set aside for them by the Crown* and that
162 have not yet been demarcated." (The italicization is
361 ours--RCO.) What can be deduced--taking both sources
● 648 into account--is that the Guaikurú local group, although
already located there for a long time, probably since the
18th century, had not, until Rondon passed through that
area, achieved a stable position, which they only attained
fully with the creation of the Serviço de Proteção aos
Índios.

621 /81/ Those data, extracted from the *Relatório Anual*
162 /Annual Report/ (1919) of the Inspetoria /"Inspectorate"/
161 of Mato Grosso, give the *aldea* as populated by 130 persons,
[175] 25 families, and 20 ranchos; and, to judge by what
the S. P. I. *inspector* wrote, it was a Guaikurú population.
Yet, the 1925 census gave Lalima with a population of
261 individuals, which shows a fabulous increase, only
explicable by the arrival of native contingents from other
tribes, especially Kinikinâu and Terêna. It seems that
this was the time when Lalima reached its highest population.
After this a decline began, the causes of which
621 are not easy to ascertain. In 1926, we had the following
16 demographic picture: previous population (1925), 261
inhabitants; Indians settled in the *aldea* during the year,
3; births, 6; Indians who moved to other *aldeas*, 24;
deaths, 6; total in 1926, 240 persons. In the census of
the following year, we have: births, 7; Indians who moved
621 out, 23; deaths, 4; total in 1927, 220 inhabitants. At
162 present, the official data sent to the Directoria do Serviço
de Proteção aos Índios by the Inspetoria of Mato Grosso
gives 256 individuals, although in our "survey" we
registered 234 persons, broken down as follows: adult male

/84 cont./ [Bananal and Ipegue]

361 as well as 84 Terêna dwellings. Aside from this central
311 nucleus, we find--as in other Terêna aldeas--areas especially devoted to farm plots and others comprising winter pastures for cattle; in both areas, thère are ranchos where a significant
175 part of the community lives. The history of Bananal is very
621 important to an understanding of those migration movements
166 we are studying in this chapter. For this reason, we refer the
●648 reader to the already mentioned research of Fernando Altenfelder
[114] da Silva, devoted to the study of the cultural change of the Terêna, on the basis of data obtained in Bananal. We shall quote the following passage from this author on the history of
[162] the community: "The present aldea of Bananal, which numbers more than 900 Indians (this in 1946--RCO), originated at the beginning of this century, in an area close to that of the old aldeas of Naxe-Daxe and Ipegue. Owing to the persecutions stirred up by the local fazendeiros, very few Indian families
[622] remained in this area. . . . In 1906 the Brazilian, João Gomes, who lived with a Terêna woman, "named" the Indian, Manoel
[423] Pedro, captain of Bananal aldea. In 1908, Manoel Pedro and some Indians, among them Marcolino Wollily (who later succeeded him), began the demarcation of the aldea lands, probably directed by General Rondon, who had been there
[622] making a survey of the area. In 1915 Marcolino Wollily was appointed by the S.P.I. to the post of captain of the aldea and distinguished himself in the defense of Terêna interests against
[797] the constant demands of neighboring fazendeiros. Converted to Protestantism, Marcolino caused part of the aldea to be converted as well." (147)

147. 1949:285.

175 The importance of the Marcolino "affair" is evident.
621 After reading Altenfelder and living, as we did, for some time
797 in the aldeas that maintain the greatest contact with Bananal,
622 we felt at once the impact there of the Marcolino matter and his politico-religious activities.

[Bananal and Ipegue]

/84 cont./
175 his politico-religious activities. In this /85/ respect, it is
621 fitting to give some idea of the history of the problem. To
797 this end, nothing could be more suitable than to resort once
● [648] more to Altenfelder: "On a charge that they had instigated the
Indians against the authorities of the S. P. I. the missionaries
of the *Inland South America Missionary Union* were, in 1920,
expelled from Bananal. In 1925, resuming the activities of
this organization, North American missionaries of the *South
America Indian Mission* settled in Bananal and have since
175 continued to catechize the Terêna. In 1933 Marcolino Wollily
621 was arrested and stripped of his post as captain of the *aldea*,
622 on the charge of fomenting a rebellion against the S. P. I.
648 A triumvirate system was tried, in which the three mainstreams
[795] of the *aldea* were represented: the Protestants, non-Protestants
(or Catholics), and the S. P. I. But the system was not successful, and a year later Marcolino was reinstated as chief of the
Indians." (148) And this situation lasted up to 1946, as we have seen, when that leader, due to new frictions that arose between him and the post, withdrew to the place that later was to become União.

166 The consequences of the Protestant penetration--while
621 explicable on an ecological basis--were to be felt not only
798 in the move of large numbers of non-Protestant Indians to
162 Ipegue, but also in the isolation of the families regarded as
Catholic in specific areas, such as the place called Morrinho, where three non-Protestant extended families live in half a score of ranchos; in the central nucleus of the *aldea*, made up for the most part of Protestant families, we found these concentrated along the main streets.

361 Concerning Ipegue there is not much to be said. Ever
628 since Bananal came into existence, Ipegue remained more or
less as its satellite. The progress of Bananal, that is, its

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148. *Ibid.*

/86 cont./
Limão Verde and Aldeinha

361 Strictly speaking, Limão Verde includes two aldeas:
621 Limão Verde proper and Córrego Sêco. Both occupy an area
162 of 2,500 hectares a few kilometers from Aquidauana. In 1927
there were 162 Indians living in the aldeas. Unfortunately this
census, carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
does not specify the distribution of this population between the
two aldeas. The 1954 census gives a population of 246 individuals
and incurs the same imprecision as the previous one.

621 Limão Verde--we refer here to both aldeas--is the only
648 Terêna community whose lands have not been demarcated
[423] and /87/ despite some attempts by the S. P. I. to "reserve
them," continue to belong to Aquidauana município. And
up to now Limão Verde does not have its native post. Its
175 history goes back to a distant past. We were told that the
621 community has existed since the Paraguayan war and that it
was founded by a man called João Dias, a bandeirante from
São Paulo. This bandeirante lived with a Terêna Indian woman,
at the place where Aquidauana is today; he was granted his
glebe for the foundation of the city, moving to Morrinho,
one league northwest of Aquidauana. He worked in the place
called Córrego Sêco, one league from Morrinho, with cattle
and farm plots. After his death, his sons left Morrinho and
went to settle in Córrego Sêco and at the place called Limão
175 Verde. The captain of Limão Verde--where a small con-
621 centration of Terêna Indians must have already existed--was
622 the famous Lutuma, known throughout the region for his deeds
in the Paraguayan war. With his death, his position was left
vacant, and João Dias took advantage of this to seize the
chiefship of the aldea. But he never lived in Limão Verde.
His son, Daniel Dias, when he inherited the "captain's" post,
moved to Limão Verde. The Dias family scattered through
Córrego Sêco and Limão Verde and, today, the "captain" of
both nuclei is Sebastião Dias, grandson of Daniel.

/88 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

439 settlement of Morrinho. Its principal products suitable for export
are manioc flour, bananas, sugar-cane juice, and unrefined
464 sugar in small bricks /rapadura/. The members of the
●648 community work on the closer fazendas and in Aquidauana, and
many Terêna girls work as domestics in Aquidauana. And,
177 197 in spite of the wide contact that the community maintains with
foci of culture change, such as Aquidauana, the most widely
spoken language is the Terêna tongue, familiar even to the
non-native members of the community. We would venture to
say that this is a case of "Terenization" of the neo-Brazilian
and Paraguayan population, whereas in Lalima--another multi-ethnic
community--there was a gradual disappearance of the
tribal languages, with the imposition of Portuguese as the most
widely spoken language.

162 In the city of Aquidauana, in the suburban zone, there
361 live 39 families of Terêna Indians and mestizos that make up
a population of slightly less than 250 individuals. Living two
kilometers from the left bank of the Aquidauana River, on lands
they acquired themselves, these Terêna are regarded as people
of Aldeinha.

175 In 1933, three brothers, Gregório (Neco), Sebastião,
621 and José, passing through Aquidauana after leaving Buriti on
their way to Bananal, decided to buy some lands at the insistence
of a sister--already settled in Aquidauana--who wanted
[423] them near her, in the same city. With the sale of a few cattle
and horses, they bought about 40 hectares for "1,800,000 reis."
[622] Old Neco, /two plates appear here/ /89/ to all extents and
[166] purposes the head of the community, says that immediately
after settling down in that place, "compatriots" began to pour
175 in asking permission to live on those lands. Every night they
621 would station themselves at the entrance, singing religious
797 hymns. This activity made the little aldea that was forming
[533] become known as the Aldeinha /little aldea/ of the "Believers."
[295] Whether the persons who went to live there were already
Protestants, or became "Believers" through the catechization

[text continues on p.127]

/89 cont./ [Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

175 of the family of the leader, Neco, is a question we cannot
621 discuss for lack of data. We can say, however, that the two
797 hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and that, in all proba-
795 bility, both "Believers" and "non-Believers" were drawn to
the new community, and that, among the latter, the majority
must ultimately have been drawn by the Protestant cults and
the power of persuasion of their leaders. As a result, among
the 39 families mentioned, only 13 are not Protestant. It
[622] must be mentioned that two of the community leaders already
had experience of religious proselytism. Old Neco, for ex-
ample, had collaborated in the evangelization of the Terêna
of Buriti, in the place called "Agua Azul," a community
regarded today as Protestant.

162 With reference to the ethnic composition, it can be said
621 that the Terêna, although they are not properly speaking a
[144] minority, are outnumbered by the mestizo group, that is, by
those individuals whose fathers or mothers are not "pure"
Terêna. Of 211 persons listed in the census, 123 are mestizos
(the fruits of interethnic or intertribal unions), 78 are "pure"
Terêna (children of Terêna fathers and mothers), 3 are
"Purutuya"-white, 5 are "Purutuya"-Negro, and only one is
101 Kinikinâu (one not being included). It should be explained
829 here that "Purutuya" is the designation in the Terêna language
for the "*civilizado*," whether white or black, despite the fact
that this term is a neologism applied initially to the Portuguese.

464 It can be said that Aldeinha lives on employment in the
648 city of Aquidauana. Over half its inhabitants work in the city,
[241] that is, hold jobs of an urban nature, while the other part is
divided in doing farm work on neighboring fazendas and small
[462] farms, or on their own farm plots. Like Limão Verde and,
naturally, on a much wider scale, Aldeinha serves as a domestic
workers' pool: nearly all the young girls in the community
have already been employed in the homes /90/ of the city
and they are constantly sought out in the *aldea* itself with
offers of employment.

[Limão Verde and Aldeinha]

/90 cont./

346 As in the other communities with a large Protestant
[162] contingent, Aldeinha has its church, relatively large and built
of bricks. It is the best building in the aldea, not to say the
[485] only one; there is only one other house behind the church,
342 which serves to put up guests. The dwelling houses or ranchos
are in the style typical of nearly all Terêna aldeas: "pau-a-
368 pique" and "taipa" /i.e. with mud walls/. There is no school,
although the church building has already been used for this
875 purpose. It is interesting that, in spite of the fact that the
628 community supports a teacher in the place called "Água
Branca," in Brejão aldea (Capitão Vitorino), it complains
[797] about not having one to teach its own children.... This is what
might be called catechizing strategy: since in "Água Branca"
(and in Brejão as a whole) there are no "Believers," the leaders
of Aldeinha probably hope to catechize through the teacher
872 their "compatriots" in Brejão. The Aldeinha children attend
● 648 the município schools of Aquidauana, although they would
prefer to go to school in their own community, not only be-
cause of the distance, but also the difficulty they have in buy-
ing uniforms and shoes; cases of absenteeism from class owing
to lack of clothing are countless, as we were able to verify
197 in the course of our visits to the community. As for language,
178 it can be said that Aldeinha follows the example of the Terêna
communities that underwent a greater degree of the process
of social change, this being reflected in the gradual loss of
the tribal language, through the generations.

Brejão or Capitão Vitorino

361 Brejão or Captain Vitorino's aldea, as it is known, occu-
621 pies an area of 3,904 hectares, duly demarcated and with a
[133] deed /titulo/ for 2,800 hectares. The native reservation is
located in Nioac Município, with the Urumbeva River to the
north and the Maracaju range to the east. A document of the

[Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

175 /90 cont./ A document of the
361 Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, dated 1919, reports that the
621 Terêna in Captain Vitorino's group (the uncle of the present
[162] "Captain") occupied an area two leagues from the city of
Nioac and showed a population of some 200 individuals, scattered through 11 ranchos; the same document estimates at 1,000 persons the number of those who, up to that time, had /91/ spread through the fazendas atop the Maracaju range. (149) "Captain" Vitorino tells us that the present-day *aldea* of Brejão was founded in 1904, when he and his family, seeking a wooded area, abandoned the old Laranjal *aldea*,
[166] close to the present one and also within the reservation. The
[648] "Captain" says--and documents prove him right--that that
move of 2,000 Indians to the fazendas atop the range was due to pressure of the neighboring *fazendeiros* who wanted by any
175 manner or means to take over the Terêna lands. After the
621 area had been made into a reservation by Decree of 1922,
648 only in 1925 was the native post established, thanks to Colonel
Nicolau Horta Barbosa, at the time *inspetor* for Mato Grosso.
[162] Data from the annual report of that *inspetor* for the year
following the creation of the post list 178 Indians, among
[166] whom 16 had settled in the *aldea* in that year. The flow of
those Indians to Brejão (a small part) and to the *aldeas* of Buriti and Francisco Horta was beginning, as we shall see further
[162] on. Thus, the 1954 census gives 202 inhabitants, a rather
small number, considering the size of the reservation.

361 Like the other Terêna *aldeas*, Brejão is divided into
621 "*bairros*": the central nucleus, called the Captain Vitorino

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[113] 149. *Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso* /Annual Report of the Mato Grosso Inspectorate/, Archives of the S. P. I., for 1919.

/91 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

872 628 346 875 they erected a spacious shed and left there a teacher, at a salary of 3,000 cruzeiros a month, recruited from the Aldeinha Sunday services!

162 621 /92/ As for the ethnic composition of the community, it can be said that there are two mestizo families (Terêna--neo-Brazilian), one Guaikurú descendant married to a Kinikináu survivor, one Negro woman married to a Terêna woman.

648 Between the reservation and Nioac there is a "colônia," Monte Alto, made up to a large extent of Paraguayan elements. It has a rural school, with four teachers, as well as a "bolicho." [439] The school is attended only by children from the "colônia," but the "bolicho" is frequented by Indians, neo-Brazilians, 439 and Paraguayans. Thus, Monte Alto and Nioac maintain close contact and intensive trade relations with the native community. The Indians sell, chiefly to Nioac, maize, manioc flour, tapioca, gourds, watermelons, squash /Cucurbita maxima/, and sometimes unrefined sugar (the latter, according to the statement of one Terêna informant, "is not worth selling, it 241 pays so little"). Aside from these products, the community plants for its own consumption the following species: rice, /sweet/ potatoes, beans /feijão miúdo/, cane, and earthnuts. 797 And as in so many Terêna aldeas, religious proselytism is in the hands of Redemptorist padres, whose headquarters are in Aquidauana, and who come once a month to the community [349] to say Mass and teach the catechism; but it must be said that on the reservation there is no building that might be called a church: the padres' activities are carried out in the private homes of the few inhabitants who call themselves Catholics. As for Protestants, we found that in spite of the two attempts to this effect on the part of the Bananal Evangelical Mission, 177 there are no "Believers" in Brejão. Thus, the agents of culture change in the community are limited to the post, practically

/92 cont./ [Brejão or Capitão Vitorino]

177 controlled by "Captain" Vitorino and his daughter, both rather closely tied to the regional way of life; the new teacher of the Água Branca school; the above-mentioned Redemptorist padres; and, outside the community, but no less effective, Monte Alto and Nioac.

Buriti

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[101]
Among Terêna aldeas, Buriti is that most recently formed. /93/ Nevertheless, it is not easy to pinpoint the time when Terêna Indians were first to be found there. There are indications that the place called Invernada do Buriti was occupied by Ofaié-Xavante Indians (151) who abandoned that spot,

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● 648
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[113]

151. The Relatório Anual da Inspetoria de Mato Grosso for 1927 says the following: "In fulfillment of my duties as Inspetor of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in this state, and in order to attend to the insistent requests of some Indians living at the place called Invernada do Buriti, on the boundary of the Fazenda de Correntes, município of Aquidauana, whose aldeamento, from what they tell us, has existed there for more than 35 years, on lands which they claim belong to the state, I ask you in accordance with the terms of Articles 90 and 95, Ch. VI

[Buriti]

/93 cont./

175 of the consolidation of lands,
621 mines, and colonization,
● 648 Decree No. 130, of June 4,
423 1902, that you should see fit
to designate as a reservation
for the above-mentioned
Indians an area of 4,000
hectares, or whatever may
be feasible, adapting the
circumstances relating to these
lands with the minimum
necessary so that they will
have some land on which to
[162] live and work. It is held that
there is a band of vacant lands
on the boundaries of Fazenda
Correntes that by being *occu-
pied by Xavante Indians, who
preceded the present ones,*
was not included in the measuring
carried out on this fazenda in
1896." (The italics are ours--
RCO.)--For an idea of the
history of these Ofaié-Xavante,
see Darcy Ribeiro, 1951:109.

175 probably owing to pressure by the *fazendeiros* of the region.
621 It is quite possible that the present *aldea* of Buriti was
[162] established by Terêna Indian survivors of those who, during
[166] the Paraguayan war, took refuge atop the Maracaju range
[648] (to whom we have already referred in the previous chapter);
or possibly also, by part of the Terêna from Buriti, former
175 members of the Brejão (or Laranjal) local group. At any rate,
361 up to 1913, at Invernada do Buriti, there was no Terêna *aldea*,
as can be deduced from the map made at that time by Curt

[Buriti]

/95 cont./
872 invited to teach; but this was unsuccessful: the "teacher" had
875 the pupils sing religious hymns, incurring sharp criticism from
the post superintendent, who could not permit the S. P. I.
school to have a religious content, whether Catholic or
177 Protestant. Aside from these foci of culture change, that is, the
schools, the post itself, the mission, and the Catholic padres
who occasionally visit Buriti, we have the neighboring fazendas
464 and the "bolichos." As for the fazendas, it should be noted
648 that when we passed through Água Azul we did not find a single
adult male in the community; they were all working on the
fazendas and were to return to the aldea only at the end of the
366 day. And concerning the "bolichos," we found four of them
491 at the head of four of the roads that connect the reservation
797 with the outside; on the fifth road, the Evangelical mission
already referred to was situated. Thus, of the five means of
access to the native community, four are controlled by "bolichos"
and one by missionaries.

648 But the relations of the aldea are not limited to the
"bolichos" and to the mission referred to. Four leagues from
Buriti there is the town of Sidrolândia, with a few business
houses, a pharmacy, the prefecture, and a modest boarding
house. Between Sidrolândia and Buriti, one league from the
latter, there is a small settlement of neo-Brazilians called
Barro Prêto /"black clay"/, probably because of the great
dampness of its soil, which is quite dark and good for farming.
[439] The Indians of the community maintain regular contacts with
Barro Prêto and with Sidrolândia, only not trading with them
because of the insufficient production of goods on the reservation.
[252] It should be borne in mind that the chief product in
Buriti is manioc flour, which nevertheless is not put out in
quantities larger than necessary for internal consumption.
464 Buriti is one of the communities most dependent on the regional
648 labor market; the large numbers of cattle in the aldea do not
[233] belong to the Indians but to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
which naturally does not require more than five peons to care

G /95 cont./ [Buriti]

464 for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians
648 have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely
233 the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

Gi
361 The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the
621 Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani
162 Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three
[101] of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central
[622] nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the
Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the
Gi native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives;
[133] b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá
[622] Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has
its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito,
subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos,
G with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the
[361] same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is
[621] made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about
[162] 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

Gi By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state
175 of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the
621 Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550
423 162 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families
G begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the
175 Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families
166 were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno
621 648 Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of
stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of
Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta
were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably
alongside the Kaiwá.

[Francisco Horta]

G /97 cont. /

Gi But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
Gi regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the matê industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G
621 To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
433 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
648 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
464 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
177 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it.

121 156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[text continues on p. 142]

/98 cont./

/121 economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

62/ assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna communities characterized above, it is seen that their components continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.
● 648
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/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

/121
[128] The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

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157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

/101 cont./
184 the outside, represented by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
177 and the religious missions. External intervention and the
178 politico-religious situation nevertheless did not lead to a sufficiently significant deviation from the existing norms (of the Terêna universe) to make for two or more Terêna sub-cultures. This will become clear as we analyze the most relevant socio-cultural variants, i.e., those that resulted from the operation of the agencies of culture change that were most influential in the configuration of each community.

177 The actuation of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios,
● 648 even though it is practically the same in relation to Terêna
184 aldeas that have native posts, differs considerably in relation
621 to aldeas without posts, those where, for various reasons, the S. P. I. was unable to set itself up or did so in a precarious fashion. In this latter situation is found the aldea of Passarinho and, with it, Moreira, under the circumstances referred to in the previous chapter; in the former situation, can be noted Limão Verde, Aldeinha, and União, the last two being private properties, and the first one an aldea whose lands, not yet demarcated or set aside as a reservation, did not stir the S. P. I. administration to build a post and place a superintendent in it. For this reason, these five communities hardly share in the protectionist activities of the government, being marginal to the minor help received by the other aldeas. (159)

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159. When we once asked a superintendent about the aloofness he maintained with respect to one of those aldeas--which were rather close to his post--, he replied that he had nothing to do with those Indians since they did not belong to his aldea.--It is clear that such an attitude does not go

/101 cont./

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unperceived by the communities that were not fortunate enough to get a post which, for better or for worse, would supervise life in the reservation. Although this is not in accordance with the administrative norms of the S. P. I., it has not been possible to avoid this distortion to which a large part of the superintendents are subject. The most obvious case is that of União aldea, which, because it is not a reservation but a private spot acquired by the Indians themselves--, does not receive the slightest amount of help; and even, it can be said, is regarded quite unfavorably by the great majority of S. P. I. officials.

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In aldeas where the S. P. I. is located, the impression is conveyed of very slight concern with the communal economy, i.e., that of the Indians themselves, which is neglected in favor--of what we shall call--the post economy. We shall not here go into the merits of this "policy," since we do not /102/ know to what extent it reflects the directives furnished by the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, or the regional one, the inspetoria, in Campo Grande. The truth is that there is very great concern over the production of the post, i.e., that resulting from labor financed by the S. P. I, whether it relates to farm plots, to cattle-raising, or to the extraction of wood or angico bark. This labor is ordinarily carried out by the

● 648 /102 cont./ This labor is ordinarily carried out by the
621 Indians themselves, who are paid especially for this, but this
433 does not exclude the hiring of a "Purutuya," nearly always in
[464] the capacity of a post employee. The superintendents explain
[465] that this production reverts to the benefit of the post and the
aldea, while part of it is also laid aside for those families
whose heads, for reasons of illness, are unable to support them. (160)

> 160. This expressed a wish on the part of the officials rather than reality. In the first place, because production, with rare exceptions, was relatively insignificant, often almost nonexistent; in the second place, because the income resulting from production was not always put to use in the aldea or post itself, but channeled to Rio de Janeiro, where it was deposited as native revenue, to be applied to Indian assistance generally, at the discretion of the S. P. I. [461] Diretoria. For these reasons, the Indian never participated in this work with enthusiasm, since he only rarely benefited from the revenue obtained by the post.

184 There are posts, for example, which are characterized
621 by possessing good herds of cattle, such as Lalima, Buriti,
433 and Brejão, whereas others have an agriculturally oriented
economy, with their plots of rice, cane, and manioc, and
recent experiments with small coffee plantations. Cachoeirinha
can be taken as the most representative of this latter
type.

/102 cont./
433 can be taken as the most representative of this latter type.
648 As for the extraction of angico on reservation lands, or of
timber itself, for commercial purposes, this varies according
to the central administration, in Rio de Janeiro, which now
permits it, now forbids it, pleading, in the second case, the
[434] protection of the native patrimony. The fact is that this
extractive activity is not a regular source of income for the
post or for the Indians.

184 In regard to the economy of the native community proper,
621 the differences relating to the systems of production are not
433 so great as to lead to the establishing of different types of
communities. It can even be said that the cattle of Buriti,
for example, or the rice fields of Cachoeirinha, influenced
the character of native production in the respective communities
very little or hardly at all. Few are the families /103/ that
benefit from the post production, whether through receiving
seeds in considerable quantities, or through having access to
a good breed of cattle to improve their herds. The great majority
of the population are left aside from the post's economic
[241] program. And what characterizes the families is that they
[464] work on plots of their own (sweet and bitter manioc, beans
[511] /*feijão miudo*/, and sometimes rice) which are not even
sufficient for the family subsistence, achieved only with the
184 men's employment on the regional labor market. As we could
511 see in Chapter V from the study of individual communities,
434 the great majority of Terêna families, regardless of the *aldeas*
464 to which they belong, satisfy their most basic needs by
[463] combining the produce of their fields with money earned outside
[314] the reservation, whether tending the cattle or pack oxen
of the *fazendeiros* of the region, or in agricultural work, for
which the demand is constantly increasing--as coffee cultivation
is taken up by the neighboring middling and small
farmers--, or in the extractive industry, where the Terêna
are experts in the difficult art of extracting angico bark without
damaging it.

/105 cont./

797 But what we are dealing with here, at the moment, is
648 the result of the missions' activities, which is not always con-
578 sistent with their expectations of conversion. In this sense,
795 what seems to exist is opposition among the other agencies, at least insofar as Protestant conversions are concerned. In the majority of cases, or of *aldeas*, there is a certain incompatibility between officials of the S. P. I. (post and school) and Evangelical missionaries; this is not the case with the Redemptorist padres, who, while they are not encouraged to proselytism, at least do not meet with obstacles. This discrimination against Protestant missions seems to be due to two basic reasons: first, the fact that they are struggling against a religious ideology that is already rooted in the neo-Brazilian and native population, a mixture of Catholicism, spiritualism, and tribal beliefs and practices; second, the greater activity of the Protestant missionaries, their greater aggressiveness on the reservations, to the point where they use loudspeakers to propagate the gospel (with music and speeches); all of this combined with a rather efficient organization that leads the "Believers" to a more intensive group life by means of the various meetings of worship carried out through the weeks and of the preparation of Indians for the performance of proselytizing functions. It is not difficult to imagine how /106/ inconvenient this is for the post superintendent: aside from the "disturbance" of *aldea* routine, the "Believers" represent the "revolutionary" element in the community, not so much because they are the most demanding, but chiefly because of their greater organization, which permits an intensive and continuous control of post activities.

This situation of tension created between the Evangelical missionaries and the S. P. I. officials naturally does not fail to be reflected in the manner of conversion. In other words, the individuals who pass from the "Catholic" to the "Protestant" group, or vice versa, are usually led by a multiplicity of reasons, of which only one might have a religious content.

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797 We were able to record many cases of individuals (or even
648 entire families) who adopted the other religion because of
578 matters of dissension in the community, because their ad-
795 versaries were leaders or enjoyed high "status" in the group to which they belonged and which they left in retaliation. Even more usual was the channeling to the "Protestant" group of those dissatisfied with the post administration. But it must be emphasized that these individuals did not on this account necessarily remain in the new politico-religious group adopted, since at the first opportunity they changed categories once more, passing with relative ease from one group to another, in accordance with the political situation of the moment.
797 There are other cases, less frequent however, in which the
795 motive for the change of "religious ideology" was much more
273 prosaic, such as the simple wish to drink rum: the express prohibition to Protestants against alcoholic beverages gave rise to situations in which a Protestant convert (not yet fully integrated into his new faith) ceased to be one when the desire to drink came upon him; then we would get the curious fact of individuals who remained for one year in one religious group (in this case the Protestant group) and spent a few months in the other group, as long as their desire to drink lasted!
621 In short, in the four aldeas mentioned, in which Protestant
798 missionaries managed to introduce the "new faith," the result
665 was the division of the community into two politically distinct
[648] groups. And in two of them, at least, this division was aggravated by the activity of the post superintendents, who took the side of one of the groups (usually the "Catholics"), making
[797] even more difficult their mutual reconciliation. This party character, /107/ preponderant in the recruitment of individuals into either of the groups, shows the shallow religious content of both. (165)

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165. Altenfelder da Silva, in his work on Bananal, refers

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184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

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170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

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171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

/114 cont./

184 us to differentiate (a) the traditional local groups from (b) com-
177 munities formed by individuals coming from fazendas, (182)
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leads us to verify the existence of greater receptivity to new cultural elements in the aldeas of more recent formation (b) such as Buriti, aside from the already-mentioned Francisco Horta and Aldeinha, which are included in the first category (multiple ethnic composition), and for this reason, are "doubly" open. União appears here as a special case, even though it is the most recently created aldea; its members did not come from fazendas, but from a community like Bananal, and thus are not very different from the Protestant "community" from which they split for circumstantial reasons. (183)

178 In the first (a) group of aldeas, for example, there is
535 still in force the "bate-pau dance" (Kohitxoti-kipahé), as well
[527] as the "race of the little horses" (Ivuixote-vogomoto), as traditional play activities performed on festive days, such as Indian Day, September 7 /Independence Day/, /115/ etc.
[148] These "games," already mentioned in Chapter III, were actually

182. In spite of almost all the Terêna population having lived on fazendas, at least for a relatively short period, some local groups were not broken up altogether, making possible a regrouping, to their benefit, of scattered families which, in a former time, were tied to them: in this situation are Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Bananal.

183. Cf. pp. 120-123.

/115 cont./

178 revived by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, because its
535 officials believed that they were thus "respecting" the indigenous
[648] culture along the lines recommended by the rules of
the organization. It cannot be said that these festivities were
carried out, in the past, on specific days. At least, at the
end of the 19th century--to judge by the observations of
Bach (184) when he refers in particular to the "little-horse race"--they already were not subject to a fixed calendar.
178 The effort of the Indian posts (now less usual) combined with
535 the stimulus of visitors and "tourists" (yearning to see something
541 exotic, in a region so "poor" in aboriginal oddities)
made the "bate-pau" and the "little-horse race" the big
attraction offered by the Terêna. Since these "games" involve
a series of expenses (fabric, colored tissue paper, bells,
rum, etc.)--and the Indians are seldom in a position to meet
them--there arose the need for a "producer"; a person who
would give some money to meet the expenses. Thus a role
was institutionalized which is filled now by the superintendent,
now by the visitor or "tourist," in short by any individual who
wishes to see the "games" and finance them. Very well.
184 These games did not survive in any of the aldeas of the second
178 (b) group, owing, according to their members, to their having
535 "forgotten the scenes and the steps!" But it seems that more
829 than this, it is due to the lack of enthusiasm with which these
561 communities consider the possibility of performing these
"games," chiefly owing to the facetious responses of the new
generation, who "are ashamed to play." Although the elders
(generally the leaders or "caciques of the games") of the traditionalist
aldeas--in group (a)--usually protest against this
attitude of the young people, it is so powerful that it prevents,
or at least makes very difficult, the performance of the
"bate-pau dance" or the "little-horse race." An interesting

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184. 1916:92.

/132 cont./

*177 not be exempt, especially since he has the opportunity to leave
701 his aldea without spending any money, "with bed, board, and
181 clothing," as /the army/ claims. To him, the barracks gives
him the possibility of being treated as a "civilizado," equal
[702] to a "Purutuya." Also, the expectation of instruction, in the
extremely practical and modern sense of learning the rules of
conduct of life among "civilizados," i.e., the customs and
laws of Brazilian society, becoming trained for interethnic living
together, is one of the most powerful stimuli for the Terêna
to enlist in military life, even though for a short time. On
some occasions we could hear in the aldeas, during discussions,
the phrases "so-and-so is not familiar with the rules of conduct,"
or "so-and-so was a soldier, but he did not learn the rules of
conduct," or else "so-and-so learned the rules of conduct, but
instead of teaching us he is the first one to fight," etc., etc.,
all of them referring to the condition of being a reservist as
● [648] an obligation for an individual to be "more civilized." On the
[156] other hand, the ill-will shown by the officials of the S. P. I.
toward the young Terêna reservists is indicative of the extent
to which this condition makes an individual a person more demanding
and more skillful in the defense of his own interests.

701 More recently, however, it seems that military service,
181 as the supplier of an indispensable document for one who desires
464 a better-paid job, tends to exercise an ever greater attraction.
369 In the interviews we carried out in Cachoeirinha and in the
cities, we found out how necessary a reservist card is for urban
work. Along with the labor card, the reservist is the document
most desired by the Terêna, whether by those who live in aldeas
(some), or by those who are urbanized (all). Later on we shall
see why the lack of documents can be regarded as a divergent
factor. We only wish to make it clear that, while the document
was needed only for city work, /133/ this was not the case for
rural work, such as on fazendas or in colônias, which leads us
to believe that the detribalized (but not urbanized) Terêna have
less reason to do military service.

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177 3. A third order of convergent factors can be found on
582 the plane of family organization, through *interethnic marriage*
583 and the *compadrio* system. In the last chapter we saw the
557 high index of interethnic mestizos in the cities, in relation
369 to the index of intertribal mestizos. On comparing these
562 indices with those obtained for the *aldea* population (particularly, Cachoeirinha), we found that the proportion was reversed in such a way that it led us to diagnose the present tendency of marriage in the urban zones. What is seen is a tendency on the part of the urbanized population to contract unions with individuals of another ethnic origin /*etnia*/, especially on the part of the women who regard a "Purutuya" husband as a means of bettering their pattern of living. In the interviews carried out in the cities and in the *aldeas* suburban to them, such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, and Moreira (as in Limão Verde as well, but because of its multiple ethnic composition), one finds this expectation on the woman's part, nurtured by such conclusive examples as the occurrence of satisfactory marriages made by
*177 their women friends. When it comes to men it seems to be
582 more difficult, and even when a marriage occurs, it is nearly
583 always contracted with a colored woman. It cannot be denied
369 that barriers created by prejudice make interethnic unions
562 difficult, especially when the men are Indians. But, on the other hand, and this is what we must bear in mind, the Terêna man does not improve his situation by marrying a "*civilizada*," regardless of her color. (203) On the contrary. Generally this

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● [648] 203. The only woman of another ethnic origin for whom the young Terêna shows obvious enthusiasm is a Japanese. On the basis of the experiences of some /Terêna men/ who worked in Japanese

/133 cont./

> *177 *colônias* (in the *município*
> 582 of Campo Grande or in
> 563 Terenos), and who observed
> 319 there the great capacity of
> 562 the /Japanese/ woman for
> [848] agricultural work, the young
> Terêna men began to eye
> the Japanese woman with
> [241] great interest. Naturally
> this is the case with the
> *aldea* Terêna, since it is he
> who devotes his activities
> to planting and does not see
> in the women of his own
> group good fellow workers
> on the land. (Cf. our work,
> 1958b.)

*177 situation gets worse: if he lives in an *aldea* and takes his wife
582 there, she seldom adjusts to the Terêna community, and in
563 addition is discriminated against by it; if he lives in a city
319 (a more common /134/ situation and really an easier one to
562 [571] cope with), as a rule he must own some material goods in order
to win the girl, and this makes marriage quite costly, not only
for financial reasons but especially in terms of the gradual (in
some cases immediate) estrangement from his ethnic group,
even though he continues to consider himself Terêna, speaking
the language and occasionally meeting with his old companions.

563 The widening of the family network by means of the
668 *compadrio* system constitutes a technique of Terêna accommo-
557 dation in Brazilian society, when the godparents invited to the
baptism of his children are selected from among the regional
neo-Brazilian population or among the "Purutuya" who enjoy
[175] privileged positions in the city or on the fazendas. At the
[851] time when the Terêna scattered among the fazendas--from the

/136 cont./

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> Even so, this contact arrived at getting more positive results than the Redemptorists are getting now, because at the time there was no Protestant competition, and secondly, probably, owing to the intrinsic inefficiency of these Redemptorists, who are perhaps more concerned with work in the cities and in the neo-Brazilian settlements.

*177 797 disturbance of tribal ideology, although it was not in any way decisive in breaking down the group's resistance to change, to which far more powerful factors such as captivity and social disorganization contributed. But there is no question that this missionary activity became a convergent factor, not very different in kind from that resulting from Protestant action in the present century. It may be said that the role of the Redemptorist padres can be said to have passed to a secondary plane of importance, because it does not have results so positive (as tools of culture change) as those reached by their predecessors or by their present competitors, the Protestants.

175 *177 ● 648 [721] [629] 5. The participation of the Terêna in regional or national politics began in 1864, when they had to enter the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, /two plates appear here/ /137/ as allies of the Imperial forces and in defense of their aldeas, invaded and looted by the troops of Solano Lopez. This date probably marks the birth of political consciousness in its most elementary sense, such as the awareness of the existence of a broader category, called the Brazilian nation, to which they obligatorily went on to belong, with many duties and without any rights. The Republic and the revolutions that took place until 1930-32 had their reverberations in southern Mato Grosso,

[text continues on p. 197]

175 /137 cont./
* 177 where Terêna local groups were involved through the local
● 648 "colonels," who invaded and robbed their aldeas.

* 177 After the Estado Novo, with the re-establishment of
666 democratic life in the country, the political parties began to
648 seek out the Terêna aldeas with the aim of gaining electors
among those who might perchance know how to sign their names.
To the Indian this meant, on the one hand, more symmetrical
relations with the "civilizado," at least while the election
propaganda lasted; on the other hand, he would get at that
time a few gifts and a voucher (which on October 3, 1955 was
worth 130 cruzeiros) if he voted for a specific candidate. It
is not irrelevant to point out that this voucher had to be collected
in goods, at the store of the candidate or of someone in his
party, thus making even more insignificant the amount with
which the votes were purchased.

In 1955, till the eve of the elections, there were 39
electors (including nine women) in one of the aldeas alone,
namely Cachoeirinha. In Passarinho, Moreira, and União,
taken together, the number of electors could not have reached
123 50. In the other aldeas, unfortunately, we were unable to find
* 177 out the numbers of electors, because the news was afoot that
666 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, on account of the partisan
648 activities of some of the post superintendents in canvassing
electors in previous elections, had decided to withdraw the
Indians' /voting/ certificates. This naturally hampered our
work, since at the time we were affiliated with the officials
of that department. But it did not prevent us, in Cachoeirinha,
a community where we remained for a long time, from making
such a survey and from gaining the confidence of the community
* 177 for purposes of political discussion. Probably in all the
666 Terêna aldeas (not to speak of the Guarani ones), the political
648 parties promoted small rallies, some of them authorized by
the superintendents, others by their own "captains," who often
/138/ voted against the superintendent's party in an obvious
show of antagonism between the community and the Serviço de

/138 cont./

*177 Proteção aos Índios. But the most common technique was to
166 send trucks to the aldeas to bring the Terêna to the city, where
● 648 they had to attend large rallies organized there. In Cachoeirinha,
for example, we saw the PSD /Partido Social Democrático/
and the PTB /Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/, parties then
united and of the opposition, send trucks to the reservation,
which returned full of Indians, electors or not, anxious to take
advantage of the free ride to the city of Miranda. When the
UDN /União Democrática Nacional/, the party in power, set
up its rally, the same Indians would return to the city, under
identical conditions, with the sole idea of taking maximum
advantage of a recreational opportunity. Political loyalty was
proportional to the value of the gifts received and of the
promises made to the "captain" or the community leaders.
[622] In other words, it was a matter of winning over the most influential persons in the aldea, especially the "captain," who
always had a body of electors loyal to him rather than to the
[466] "Purutuya" parties or candidates. It should be noted that in
the community we are dealing with, all the votes (except for
one of two) were promised to the party in power, owing to the
fact that the prefect of Miranda had showered gifts on the
aldea "captain," in spite of being himself the greatest exploiter of native labor, both on his fazenda (next to the
reservation) and on his sugar and rum mill (close to the aldeas
of Passarinho and Moreira), where he pays wretched wages to
his employees, who are all Indians from Passarinho.

*177 The reaction of the detribalized Indians varies in the
166 following way: those who live on fazendas have even less
367 freedom to vote, since they must always follow their master,
the fazendeiro (in the political picture, he follows the same
path as the neo-Brazilian country people); the urbanized Indians
tend to vote for the candidates indicated by the Partido
Trabalhista Brasileiro, claiming that this is the party of workers
and that they, as such, cannot but support its candidates.
[829] This shows the rise of a more relevant political consciousness,

/139 cont./ There is no doubt that the
66 *177 gradual political awakening of the Terêna has been an incentive
● 648 to assimilation, by contributing to the intensification of inter-
ethnic relations with a clearly defined objective, such as play-
ing a role in "Purutuya" politics, i.e., to obtain symmetrical
relations, or, in some cases, such as that of the urbanized
Indians, to fight for the rights of the class to which they be-
long. For this reason, we can regard the activity of the po-
litical parties, directly or indirectly, as a convergent factor
of the greatest importance in the process of assimilation.

*177 6. With the exception of the factors noted in the first
557 two paragraphs (1 and 2), in which we dealt with the attraction
the cities exercise on the Terêna, and of military service as
the source of new experiences and advantages to the young
Indian man, the other factors operate exclusively on the plane
of acculturation, not exercising any appreciable influence on
social mobility. The case of the councilman mentioned above,
in perspective, does not permit us to judge the importance of
the increase in political awareness on this last-mentioned
plane, since his case seems to be the only one with which we
are acquainted up to now. There is no case of spatial mobility
or of social climbing through political mechanisms. The factor
[464] that plays the most significant part in the occurrence of social
mobility is the labor market. In it, as has already been men-
tioned several times, the Terêna hold an important place from
various standpoints.

*177 These Indians made up the basic labor force, for a long
464 time, /140/ on the fazendas that formed in southern Mato
Grosso, especially in the proximities of the region they occupied.
[178] With the railroad and the resulting population growth in the
southern part of the state, their importance naturally decreased,
but they did not cease to be recruited for agricultural work,
herding, and especially, the extraction of timber and angico
bark, and the retention of their place on the regional labor
[461] market was thus assured. Among these varieties of work, they
[142] have no peers in the extractive tasks, for which they have

G /143 cont./
*177 some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I.,
563 which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without
369 any positive results, according to the information we got.
B
563 This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside
his aldea, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discriminatory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere appearance of the Indian, especially the aldea Indian, makes him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority group.

G
*177 Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable
191 to the Terêna today, in whatever situation he is found: it
369 facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his
area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not
G
[561] speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people
[648] who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they
lived at a time when the relations of the community with the Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom, though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15
G and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in
[184] those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas
more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their relations with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru in Lalima, or the Kaiwã in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

/144 cont./
*177 standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when
461 they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that
369 they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant
[511] point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints
in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with
[167] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural
work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna,
that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city.
This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second
factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering
the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates
184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of
*177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work
461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not
162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to perform agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such
a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more
[128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed
information regarding this "fazenda" population that would
permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the
nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation
to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely
to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more
than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are
farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their
detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts,
whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less
than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with
648 in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation
175 process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work,
it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the
Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive
the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its
pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

/145 cont./

*177 conditions infinitely superior to those of the period of the
148 "captivity" to which the Terêna were subjected after the
175 Paraguayan war. As some of the remaining local groups were
reorganized and as new communities were formed, on land
protected by the federal government, the Terêna population
was able to resist the highly dissociative effects of interethnic
contact, especially at a time when the defensive equipment
(cultural and biological) of these Indians was quite reduced
and not very potent. /146/ This probably explains the
phenomenon of Terêna survival, in contrast to the disappearance
of the other Guaná subgroups, the Layâna and the Kinikinâu,
the first to be reached by the pastoral front, after considerable
exposure to the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries; when the
Rondon Commission arrived--a time that marks the beginning
of protection, on the basis of a new ideology about the natives--these tribes had vanished completely as groups (the
Layâna), or were terribly reduced (the Kinikinâu), unequipped
to bear the ups and downs of protection itself.

*177 Once their lands had been assured, the result of this
148 protectionist policy was segregation. Let it be noted: not a
segregation imposed by the S. P. I., by direct, persuasive, or
violent means; but a natural consequence of the creation of
reservations, in an area where the tribal population was barbarously exploited. Not a few fazendeiros and "colonels"
spoke out against the protectionist policy, because it "usurped"
*177 from them land and free labor. The Terêna believe that the
148 majority of the population that did not return to the aldeas, did
829 not because they settled on fazendas whose owners paid or
484 went on to pay adequately for native labor; accustomed to
162 the place and having guaranteed work, those Terêna--who
underwent an intensive process of detribalization--chose to remain on the fazendas where they were, or else, became a
mobile labor force, going from fazenda to fazenda in accordance with the oscillations of the regional labor market.

G /146 cont./
*177 The segregated condition to which the aldea population
178 is subjected stimulates the emergence of psycho-social
● 168 mechanisms that work counter to assimilation: it strengthens
the "tribal we," decreases the possibilities of interethnic contact,
and marks the position of the Indian socially as a ward.
Let us examine this last aspect of segregation, since the first
two--the strengthening of tribal consciousness and the creation
G of obstacles to interethnic contact--were already dealt with in
666 previous chapters. The most flagrant discrimination against
648 the Indian that we had the opportunity to witness bore the
B approval of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios at the time of
657 the 1955 elections. In that year, at the end of September,
thus on the eve of the elections, the Inspetoria Regional (IR-5)
with headquarters in Campo Grande and responsible for the
supervision and articulation of the native posts /147/ of southern
Mato Grosso, along with the central administration of the
Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, decided to withdraw the Indians'
voting certificates on the grounds that regional politicking
would be prejudicial to the Indians' interests and to their administration.
It considered--with some reason--that, if the
Indians were to vote, the officials of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios, especially the superintendents, would eventually
become electoral leaders, as had already happened in some
aldeas; the result of this would be a future wrangling over the
posts of native-post superintendents, since they would come to
represent political power, electoral importance. Very well.
Such were the reasons that led the Serviço de Proteção aos
Índios--through its inspetoria--to take an attitude that clashed
with the basic principles of a native policy oriented toward
G guaranteeing to the Indian the securing of rights he would prove
ready to enjoy. Once literate, and in most cases, a reservist,
[641] the Indian elector automatically ceased to be a ward (despite
the sui generis nature of this wardship)--and the Serviço de
Proteção aos Índios, interpreting in a positive way the protectionist
policy, would have no other recourse than to insure

G /147 cont./

666 the securing and enjoyment of a right he had won. Let us leave
648 aside, however, the indigenist implications of such an attitude
B 657 and go on to examine its sociological aspect.

The first measure of the native-post superintendents was to collect the voting certificates in the aldeas themselves. There they managed to collect only part of them, and probably a small part--to judge by Cachoeirinha, where only a few agreed to give up their certificates; a large part of the Indians claimed that their certificates were to be found either at party headquarters (in the city) or in the hands of the electoral magistrate himself, from whom they would have to get them back in order to vote. As a result, some of the superintendents, eager to carry through at any cost the orders of their superiors, went to the cities on election day and tried to prevent the Indians from voting through every possible means. This was a veritable hunt and an extremely difficult task, since while the S. P. I. officials were assisted by one party, they were hindered by another that counted on the votes of the Indians in that particular aldea. Many voted, it is true. Perhaps a majority did, for not all of the officials endeavored to be so efficient....
G [829] But the result of this was to make clear to the Indian that the distance between him and the society of the "Purutuya" is practically unbridgeable. And more: to be an Indian /148/ living in an aldea under the sight of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, (209) is to suffer discrimination too, which begins with the actions of the very body supposed to protect their rights.

G [369] 209. The detribalized Indians (urbanized and living on fazendas), as well as those living in aldeas that do not have a native post, were not prevented from voting, since, practically speaking, they were not under the control of the S. P. I.

/40 cont./

115 Nakilí is nearly 90 years old. He has deep scars on his head from
[648] the Paraguay War, and he tells me how he then, that is, 1865, fought as a youth of about 20 against the Paraguayan soldiers. Now he is a vigorous old man of tall, slender build, with a full head of hair in which only a few strands of gray are to be seen, with a white mustache and even a chin beard, with good incisors in his lower jaw and some molars, with narrow, sunken eyes in his rather long, nobly formed, yellow-brown face, with a pleasantly cool, dry hand, with holiday-like new and clean, bright-colored shirt, trousers, and gigantic straw hat, with a slow, but youthfully erect gait. He is very modest, but not without a sensitive feeling of self-reliance; he is extremely polite, tactfully reserved, and quietly cordial. His mental alertness and, above all, his readiness to help were demonstrated by the fact that he tried to answer exhaustively my most peculiar questions in every direction from seven in the morning to five o'clock in the afternoon; to be sure, after a few days he gave me an explanation which could be translated with "my head is far away," and which was said to mean "I have a headache."

622 Every village has its chief. Before the Paraguay War there
361 were eight villages. A high chief stood over all. His family
643 /Geschlecht/ has died out. "Would it not have been well to
178 choose a new one?" I ask. -- "Yes," says Nalikí /sic/, "but no one ever thought of it."

595 The Tereno live in monogamy. The children belong to the
611 kin group /Verwandtschaft/ of the father. The maternal
602 relatives (1) are not without importance, however, for often the
604

[601] 1. "My father's father," as well as "my mother's father," is called ootú; "my father's mother," as well as my mother's mother," ooté; "my father's brother," as well as "my mother's brother," lulú; "my father's sister," as well as "my mother's sister," ōngó; "my father's brother's son," "my father's brother's daughter," "my

5:Rohde--1 E-5 (1884) 1885 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

/404/

131 The territory of the Tereno /Terena/ Indians extends west
[361] of the Brazilian city of Miranda to the Bolivian border. Their
first village lies two leguas, the last one about 12-14 leguas,
101 from the above-mentioned city. The Terenos are Chaco Indians
[167] and migrated about 60 years ago from the Bolivian Chaco to their
present habitation site. In external appearance they greatly
resemble the Lenguas and have also some customs and practices
142 in common with them. The men are mostly slender and tall,
and at the same time muscular; the women are medium-sized,
likewise robust, and many are corpulent. The /405/ face is
broad with prominent cheekbones, the nose broad, pressed flat,
the nostrils large, the eyes dark-brown, the mouth wide, protruding,
302 the hair blue-black, stiff, and coarse. Most pluck out
178 the eyelashes and beard hair, but the present generation seems
to want to abandon this bad custom, for I saw some young girls
771 and men who were equipped with very beautiful eyelashes. The
797 Terenos call themselves Christians, despite the fact that they
have no notion of Christian belief. Their children are neither
baptized nor confirmed; also, they do not know our Christian
holidays. I never saw Terenos praying, and no one wore a rosary,
[178] which is considered the chief sign of Catholic faith here. They
[821] cling to their old customs and, like their forefathers, still worship
● 648 the stars. In the war against Paraguay they served the Brazilians
well, and as a consequence some caciques of Brazil held a
commission as alferes, which they showed me with great pride
361 and asked me to read it aloud. I visited six villages (aldeas),
[114] which were not very different from one another. An aldea consists
of three to six family-huts and some small ranchos. The
592 family huts are low, but very long and spacious, and in some of
them 30 and more people live under a common head. In most
cases this is the oldest man of the family. All the daughters remain
in the hut in which they were born, and they marry there.
[591] As soon as a girl marries, a new bed is built, and the young husband
[353] moves into the family hut of his wife. In one hut I counted
12 such beds, which were set up in two rows, similar to a hospital.

/405 cont./
592 Since most men have two wives and as a rule have children by
[595] each one, the bedsteads have to be made very large. Most are
[352] so large that six adult persons can sleep on them. If the fertility
in a family hut is so great that the latter becomes too small,
the youngest families build themselves small huts nearby or
353 establish a new family-house. The interior arrangement is the
same in all the huts. The beds are set up in one or two rows.
[415] Near the bed each family has its property in large nets or bags,
either hung on a hut post or on a *yntocoqui*. In addition, one
sees many earthenware dishes and calabashes here, in all sizes
and shapes, which contain all sorts of things and in part stand on
[411] the floor, in part are hung up. Some weaving frames, bows,
arrows, lances, and guns complete the equipment.

622 Each village has a commander (subchief), and the whole
643 nation is ruled by a cacique, who has a commission as *capitão*
648 /captain, chief/ from the Brazilian government. This ruler of
643 all the Terenos received me in a very friendly manner, showed
123 me above all /406/ his commission and then a photograph of
Emperor Pedro II, whom he called his *amigo*. His costume looked
[292] very interesting. He had wound a chiripá around his bare legs,
while the upper part of his body was stuffed into a worn-out
military coat without any buttons. After I had sacrificed a few
bottles of *caña* /rum/, he presented me with a fan for flies, and
we took most cordial leave from each other.

291 The chief article of clothing of the Terenos is the chiripá,
a rectangular piece of cloth which is wound around the loins.
Both sexes wore this chiripá. Many men were clothed in shirts
or trousers. I often saw young girls with bright-colored cotton
[439] jackets on their bare bodies. They buy or barter for the last-
302 mentioned articles of clothing in Miranda. Young girls and women
paint their faces with black paint, whereas the men decorate
312 their bodies with it only for festivals. Since the Rio de Miranda
439 has salt water, the Indian women provide fresh spring water for
the place. Daily in Miranda, early in the morning, one sees

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY: 000

An Essay in Structural Analysis

by Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira
National Museum, Rio de Janeiro

Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato [31]
Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west [101]
Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting [161]
the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained [648] ●
continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century
and a half. Even though they might be described today as being [177]
integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not
accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian
society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian* [114]
Protective Service and the *Division* of *Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of [122]
Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro [128]
(1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of* [114]

disruption of local groups, during the Paraguayan war. During and 182
inmediately following this period until the reorganization of the vil- 571
lages at the beginning of this century, the Terena subsisted in extreme [648]
poverty, even at times being held as slaves on the ranches which sprang
into being after the war and the demobilization of government troops
in the area. The result, as can be seen today, was the discontinuance
of frequent and systematic contact among the communities, now located
on the Indian reserves, with the subsequent loss of interest of a Terena
in his tribesman in another village. Even thoug it is still not difficult
for a Terena to find some relative in any one of the other villages,
the relationship is so distant and so weak that there is no basis for
encouraging the tie. A Terena continues to identify himself with his [828]
local group, his stratum and his moiety. He also continues to treat
his relatives in another village as one of his people. But the original [628]
fabric of intercommunal relations, of trading goods and exchanging
women, has disappeared completely, weakening tribal solidarity to the
point at which each community forms a discrete unit with a destiny
distinct from that of the rest.

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/88 cont./

162 In the municipio of Miranda there exist several tribes of
103 Indians, the largest of them being that of the Terena Indians,
who occupy sundry aldeas, which are: Agachy, Cachoeira,
Cachoeirinha, Bocaina, Ipeque, Morinha, and Santa Ana.

433 The Terena are agriculturalists and are especially engaged
28 in the making of manioc flour; in general they are very in-
323 dustrious, they weave cotton, making nets and other fabrics;
439 from the palm they braid hats, large baskets, sifters, and mats;
[241] from the pita /agave/ and other fibrous plants, the cordage for
[824] weaving bags, in which they transport their products to market;
from clay they make platters, dishes, ollas, and many other
vessels for domestic use. They exchange their products for
beverages and fancy articles. To take their products to market
they go in large groups, directed by the cacique.

142 With regard to their stature there are tall, average, and
short ones. There are very few tall ones, but they are all
[165] strong and muscular. The men are very ugly for the most part,
the women passable, and they attain a very advanced age.
162 The proportion of the two sexes is one-third for the male and
two-thirds for the female.

291 Most of them go about completely naked and the most
177 civilized cover themselves with clothing given them by
strangers.

847 Birth. They customarily kill the first child, if it is a
648 male, /89/ so that the Christians may not take it as a slave;
562 women are very much valued among them. They accompany
844 the birth of a baby with great fiestas, which always end in
[527] drunkenness.

To give birth the woman goes to the woods, where she
makes an excavation about 45 centimeters long by 35 centi-
[847] meters wide, which is lined with palm leaves. In this excava-
[846] tion they give birth, and if the baby is a male they kill it at
[262] once, using the excavation itself as a grave, after which they
go to the river to bathe and then submit to a rigorous diet,
eating only the heart of the palm called palmita.

Chane SF8
Guana SK7

Ce 167 361 /324 cont./ The extreme limit reached by the migratory wave is marked by the Chané villages of the Itiyuro River and by those of the Aguaray (Salta Province, Argentine Republic). Describing an immense arc of a circle above the northern Chaco, part of the emigrant tribes streamed out toward Paraguay and Brazil.

Ce Ga 101 105 "The Arawak Indians of the Chaco, whom linguists have recognized as closely related to the other Indians of this family, are known in the 18th century by the name of Chané and Guaná. The appellation Guaná has been reserved for the ensemble of the eastern Arawak groups and that of Chané for the western tribes. Like the Chiriguano, they make a very clear contrast with the other small tribes of the Chaco, and this antithesis is so strong that at first sight they look like an element that was Ce Ga [181] implanted there. They are sedentary and pacific; and insofar as they have not been forced to abandon their ancestral customs, they live in villages solidly defended by palisades and devote themselves to the intensive cultivation of the soil. They know how to spin cotton and, like all the Arawak peoples, are remarkable potters. They do not practice infanticide and are not polygamous. The Jesuits hold them in high esteem, for they do not have idols.

Ce Ga 648 [131] "The two Arawak tribes of the Chaco, the Chané in the west and the Guaná in the east, used to live, the first in the interior of Chiriguano territory and the others in the domain of the Mbayá. They were both subject to these Indians and they depended on them entirely. This state of subjection varied according to the place. The condition of the Chané with relation to the Chiriguano was that of slaves to masters, of prisoners to conquerors. Among the Mbayá, the relations between the Guaná and their neighbors did not have so clear-cut, so brutal a nature.

"The Guaná appear sometimes as vassals and protégés of the Ga [621] Mbayá, sometimes as their allies. They are grouped into little closed communities, nearly independent. The bellicose Mbayá had the custom of taking a wife preferably from among their Arawak or Chamakoko subjects, and this explains the fact that the Mbayá wives and children spoke a different language from that of their husbands or fathers. Schmidel already

SF10
Chane SF8
Guana SK7

/324 cont./

Ce Ga 648 cites a people of the Zchennte (Chané) in whom by reason of their geographic situation we must see the Chané-Guaná: 'They are vassals and subjects of the Mayaiess (Mbayá) as with us the peasants are subject to their lords.' We also have no trouble in recognizing the Chané in the Queanaes (Guaná) whom Alcide d'Orbigny mentions, according to an old account, as having been subjugated by their neighbors the Chiriguano and obliged by them to cultivate their fields. C Ce 175 648 567 727 In the 18th century the Chané, as prisoners of war of the Chiriguano, had been quartered /Plate V appears here/ /325/ like slaves in villages called Chané after them. When Lozano declares that the Chiriguano call their slaves Chané, an ethnic value must be given to this phrase. The state of subjection of the Chané in relation to the Chiriguano is explained in the linguistic sphere by the name which the first used to give to the second: cheya, 'my master,' the Chané used to say when addressing the Chiriguano, and the latter called the Chané tapii, 'my slave.'

Ce 175 797. "The little we know about the Chané who live in the lost regions of the northern Chaco is connected exclusively with the activity of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries of the Collège de Tarija. C [797] The first evangelized the Chané in the 17th century at the same time as the Chiriguano; and in 1714 they formed with them a doctrina /Christianized Indian village/ in the vicinity of Santa Cruz. It was called San Juan de los Porongos and in 1767 was under the authority of a parish priest. C Ce 175 162 797 It was only with great difficulty that the Chané could be assembled, in 1767 and 1789, into the two missions of Asero and Iti. We learn from a report by Father Pedro Bartolomé addressed to Francisco Aguirre that the Filipili mission in 1789 was made up of Chané Indians whose racial brothers were living mingled with the Chiriguano on the borders of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. C Ce 175 648 797 Viedma, who visited the missions in 1788, found in the villages of the Parapití Chiriguano and Chané who were living together, united under the authority of the Franciscan missionaries. The activity of the missionaries among the Chané naturally was to have as a consequence a rupture of the bonds

[Text continues on P. 51]